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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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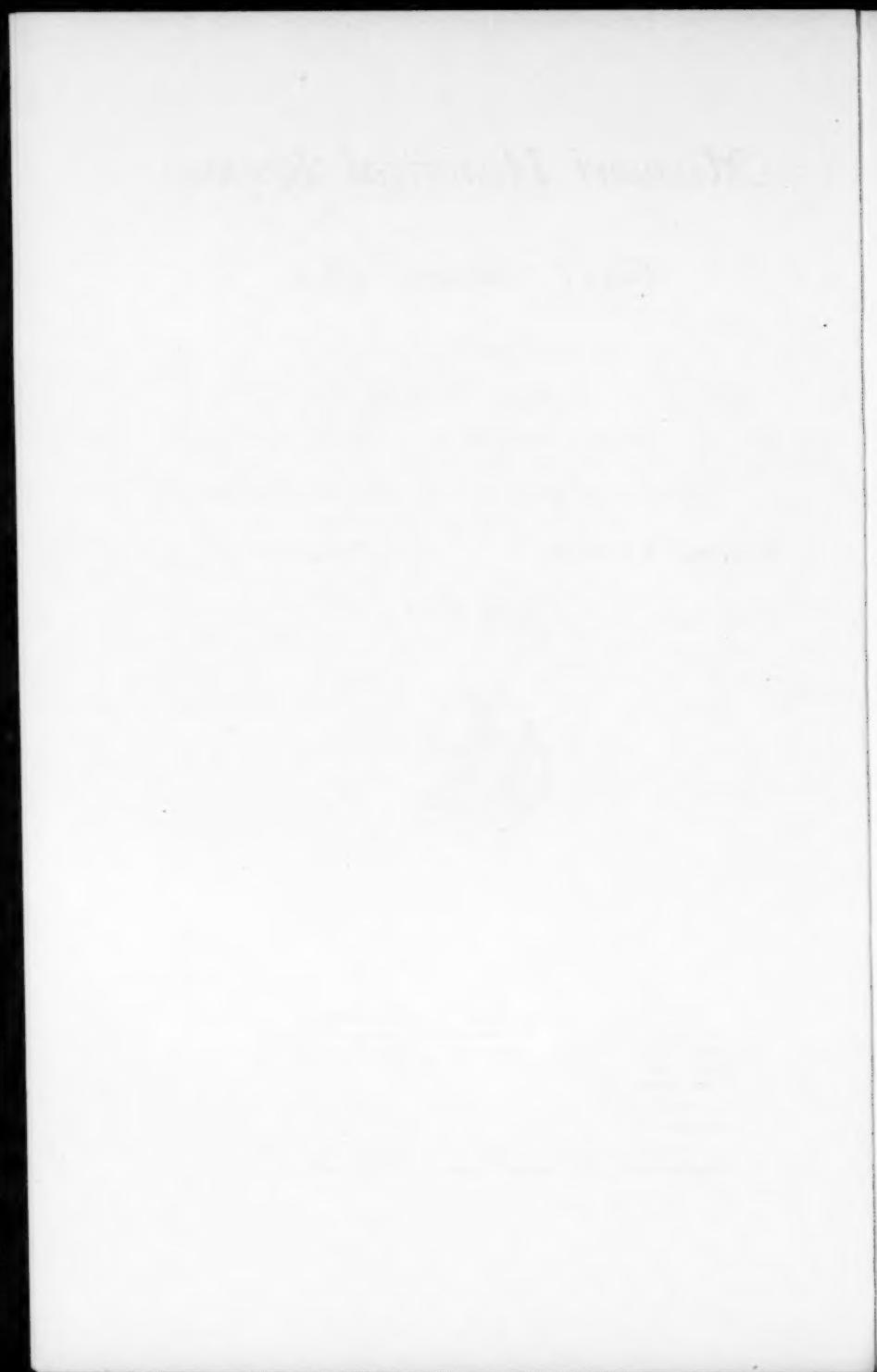
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(II)

AGITATION FOR AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN CENTRAL MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

BY GEORGE F. LEMMER¹

Among most people there is a tendency to believe that agricultural improvement is of recent origin and that the early settlers of Missouri had no interest in scientific methods of farming. The improvement of agricultural methods, however, like most reform movements, has roots that reach much further back than most realize.

In the eastern seaboard states, interest in improvement began very early in our national history. The organization of societies for this purpose began in Philadelphia in 1785 and soon spread to New England. A later and more successful movement was started by Elkanah Watson of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, about 1807. Watson organized the Berkshire agricultural society in 1811 and interested practical farmers by exhibiting many kinds of farm products. These exhibitions were very popular and the movement spread rapidly over the eastern states between 1817 and 1825.

George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were both interested in improving agricultural methods in Virginia. Washington ordered and read all the books written in England and on the European continent by agricultural reformers. He carried on correspondence with agricultural reformers all over the world, especially with Arthur Young, the great English enthusiast. Washington conducted experiments with oats, lucern (alfalfa), and crop rotation. He also tried many

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kinds of fertilizer. He was the first to raise mules and blooded horses in this country.²

Although Jefferson probably did less practical experimenting than Washington, he put most of his observations in writing and was more of an inventor than Washington. Jefferson found that the moldboard of a plow should have a definite and correct shape. He finally succeeded in constructing one that was mathematically correct and seems to have won a medal with it at an exhibition in Paris while he was minister to France.³

Local newspaper records prove beyond a doubt that, at least as early as 1830, there were men in Missouri interested in general agricultural improvement. These men were convinced that farmers should breed better livestock, provide better feed and shelter for stock, and increase crop yields by rotation, use of better seed, and more careful cultivation.

Many or possibly most of the early suggestions for improvement were impractical and of little use to the pioneer farmers of Missouri. The interest was there, nevertheless, and it grew steadily though slowly until about 1850 when it was greatly stimulated and attracted increasing interest until the war.

Although agriculture was in a rather primitive stage in Missouri until 1850, there were articles printed in the local newspapers much earlier urging farmers to improve their methods. The greater number of the early articles were reprinted from newspapers and agricultural journals in the older states, but some were written by Missourians.

An article typical of the thirties appeared in January 1830 urging farmers to adopt better methods of cultivation and to use better plows. It was also suggested that farmers could reap benefits from planned cropping and fertilizer.⁴ Another writer explained that, to be successful, a farmer must do more than rise early and work long hours; he must plant his crops early, till his ground thoroughly, and manage his farm efficiently so that it becomes more valuable as time passes rather than worn

²Haworth, Paul L., *George Washington: Farmer*, pp. 71-89, 137.

³Neely, Wayne C., *The Agricultural Fair*, pp. 41-43.

⁴Missouri *Intelligencer* (Fayette), January 22, 1830.

out.⁵ Newspaper articles of this kind appeared frequently but they were so general as to be platitudinous and of very little practical value to farmers.

An article taken from the *Hartford Press* of Connecticut criticized farmers for trying to manage too much land. The writer concluded that a farmer should limit himself to a small farm, improve it by applying manure, cultivate it intensively, and give his livestock careful attention.⁶ Another example of this idea, which was a common one, appeared in the *Jeffersonian Republican* in January 1836.⁷

Suggestions of this nature were sure to go unheeded by most farmers while there was an abundance of cheap land and a scarcity of labor. Under these conditions the settlers farmed extensively and exploited the soil. Land was the cheap factor of production in pioneer farming while capital and labor were exceedingly dear. It is easy to understand, therefore, why farmers would exploit land and save elsewhere. In the East, where most of these early articles were originally published, this was not true; land was becoming expensive and a demand arose for its conservation.

In 1836 the editor of the *Jeffersonian Republican* resolved to print more material of value to farmers, and for several months discussions of agricultural topics appeared frequently.⁸ The first of these articles, written originally to the *Farmer and Gardener* of Baltimore by Jefferson Shieles of Frederick county, Maryland, advised farmers to delay their wheat sowing until the first week in October to avoid the Hessian fly menace.⁹ Seven years later, however, one writer argued that, because of fear of the Hessian fly, farmers were sowing their wheat too late; he thought it should have been sown between September 15 and October 10.¹⁰ Articles like these were aimed at a more practical problem than most. Shieles also believed that farmers could learn much about diseases and improved methods by conducting experiments on their own farms.

⁵ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), June 1, 1833.

⁶ *Ibid.*, September 7, 1833.

⁷ *Jefferson Republican* (Jefferson City), January 16, 1836.

⁸ *Ibid.*, December 17, 1836.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), September 29, 1843.

Other newspapers also devoted a great deal of space to articles on agriculture. One of these discussed the following subjects in one issue's agricultural section: care of livestock in winter and spring, repairing implements for spring work, destroying lice on animals, preparing hotbeds for early vegetables, collecting scions for grafting, and how to raise, cultivate, and prepare tobacco for shipping.¹¹

Hemp and tobacco were the main cash crops of Missouri farmers in the early period. Newspaper editors and agricultural reformers, therefore, devoted much of their discussion to these two crops. Money was so scarce in the western country that farmers who could raise tobacco and hemp and sell them for cash were anxious to make the most of their opportunity. These crops were raised principally along the Missouri river and sent down the river to either New Orleans or St. Louis.

Hemp growers were always seeking some way to make their crop more profitable. The farmers in Saline and adjoining counties, where the soil was best adapted to hemp, were urged in 1840 to take better care of their crop after it was cut.¹² In 1841 dealers began to urge farmers to water rot their hemp instead of dew rotting it so that it could be used by the United States navy in place of the Russian hemp commonly used.¹³ Directions for rotting were sent out by government buyers, and a very attractive price was offered for hemp that had been water rotted. These buyers specified that the hemp must be well cleaned, carefully handled, and properly rotted.¹⁴ Certainly articles of this nature had definite value for farmers.

The prize essays on the cultivation of hemp and tobacco presented to the Kentucky state agricultural society in 1840 were published in Missouri.¹⁵ These articles gave full instructions on seed selection, choice of soil, preparation of seed bed, and harvesting the crop. When hemp and tobacco grow-

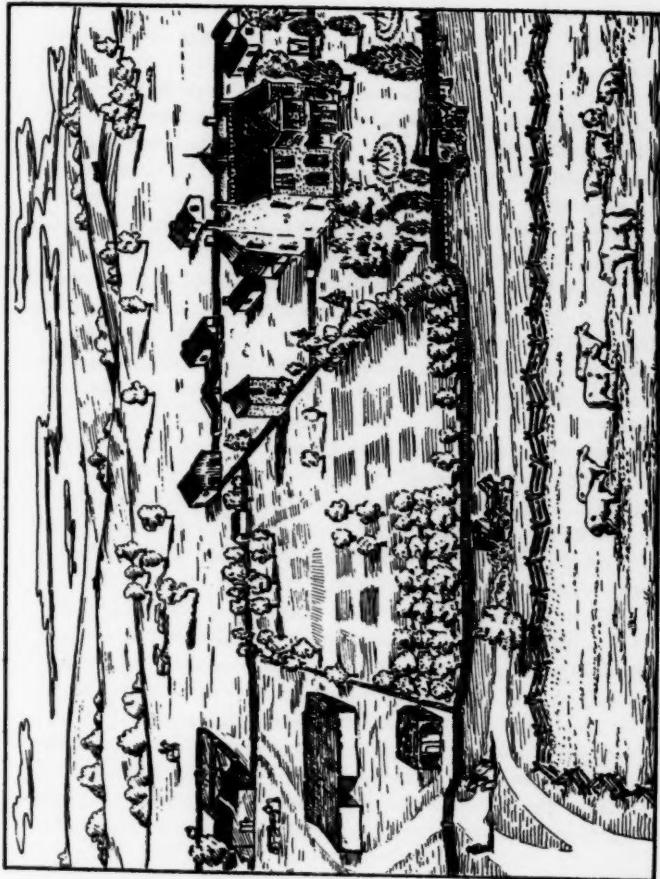
¹¹ *Missouri Register* (Boonville), March 4, 1841.

¹² *Ibid.*, May 14, 1840.

¹³ *Ibid.*, April 8, 1841.

¹⁴ *Jeffersonian Republican*, May 28, 1842.

¹⁵ *Columbia Patriot* (Columbia), May 1 and 8, 1841.



Early Missouri Farm.

ers sent exceptionally good crops to market the newspapers usually published accounts of the sales and praised the growers for the excellent manner in which they handled their produce. The editor always noted that a high price was obtained because of the superior quality.¹⁶

Before 1852 there was more discussion of tobacco culture than of any other branch of agriculture. Farmers generally believed that raising tobacco, for those near the river, was the most profitable endeavor they could follow.¹⁷ Missouri tobacco growers were, nevertheless, very careless and backward in their methods of preparing the crop for market as well as in the cultivation of the crop itself.

In 1835 the *Missouri Intelligencer* published an open letter from a commission merchant in New Orleans which contended that the growing and management of tobacco in the western country had been a disappointment because of neglect on the part of tobacco planters. The merchant gave the planters careful instructions in preparing seed beds and fields, sowing the seed, cultivating the growing plant, pruning and topping the plants, and stripping, curing, and packing the leaves for market. This writer, as did most others, warned particularly against mixing good and bad tobacco.¹⁸ The tendency to pack tobacco in oversized hogsheads or those made of green staves also aroused serious complaint.¹⁹

Throughout the entire period between 1830 and the war between the states, suggestions for the improvement of both the raising and packing of tobacco were published in Missouri newspapers, and prizes or premiums were given by proprietors of tobacco warehouses for superior hogsheads of tobacco. The latter practice was followed by the tobacco factors and commission merchants of New Orleans, the Planters warehouse of St. Louis, John A. Hadwin, tobacco factor of Rocheport, and D. H. Garth and brother of Hannibal.²⁰ These premiums, usu-

¹⁶ *Boonville Observer* (Boonville), July 22, 1845; *Liberty Tribune* (Liberty), October 11, 1850, November 3, 1854.

¹⁷ *Western Emigrant* (Boonville), January 31, 1839.

¹⁸ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), July 25, 1835.

¹⁹ *Missouri Register*, September 10, 1840.

²⁰ *Columbia Patriot*, October 9, 1841; *Missouri Statesman*, March 29, 1844, March 7, 1845, June 27, 1845, March 1, 1850, April 9, 1855.

ally amounting to \$30.00 or \$50.00, were awarded either for the best hogsheads of tobacco received at the market or for the best crop of two thousand pounds or more raised by one farmer. Most of the buyers specified that they were offering the premiums to encourage planters to improve tobacco production.

Because transportation facilities were inadequate to get grain crops to market without great difficulty, less attention was directed toward their improvement than toward tobacco and hemp which were more valuable in proportion to bulk. Corn furnished farmers their main grain crop but because of the poor transportation facilities, much of it could not be sold on the market in its original form. Some interest, however, was shown in the improvement of both wheat and corn.

Most of the suggestions with regard to wheat and corn were directed toward deep plowing, better cultivation of the growing crop, various types of soil replenishing such as crop rotation and fertilizers, and the procurement of better seed. Considerable attention was devoted in the forties to Italian spring wheat and Mediterranean wheat, both of which had just been introduced into the western country. Merchants in Boonville and Jefferson City had Italian seed for sale and Mathew Fife of Hannibal sold the Mediterranean wheat.²¹ The Mediterranean variety had been introduced by some of the eastern states soon after 1830. Better methods and the introduction of this new seed gave a fresh impetus to the cultivation of wheat in Pennsylvania during the ten-year period after 1830.²²

Corn raisers as well as farmers who specialized in wheat were interested in good seed. E. E. Buckner of Cooper county brought in some corn from Virginia which he claimed would yield one-third more than the variety commonly grown in Missouri, mature earlier, and make better meal. The corn was called Lloyd, Baden, and sometimes Twin Corn; and a Virginian supposedly experimented twenty years in developing it.

²¹ *Western Emigrant*, March 7, 1839; *Jeffersonian Republican*, February 15, 1840; *Missouri Statesman*, August 27, 1847.

²² Bidwell, Percy W., and Falconer, John I., *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860*, p. 327.

James Quarles and company in Boonville kept samples in their store for farmers to examine.²³ Another variety of corn considered superior to common kinds was "Peabody's Prolific Corn" sold by Thomas M. Smith of Rocheport for \$2.00 per bushel and "certified" by a farmer to yield one-third more than common varieties.²⁴

Fruit and garden products were highly desirable in a slowly developing agricultural system which was, to a large extent, self-sufficient. Important as they were, however, little direct interest was shown in their improvement by farmers before 1850 and not much more between 1850 and 1860. Here we see again the influence of dear labor and cheap land. Few farmers spent any time working in the garden and pruning fruit trees; most of the work done there was managed by the women and children. Newspaper articles written about fruit and vegetable culture were largely of a very general nature and were reprinted from newspapers and farm journals in the East where farmers were beginning to specialize in fruit growing, truck gardening, and other types of intensive farming.

It would be unfair, however, to consider farmers and newspaper editors uninterested in improvement of orchards and gardens. Suggestions were printed in the local newspapers throughout the period pointing out the grave mistake farmers were making in not devoting more attention to their orchards and gardens. In 1831 an article in the *Missouri Intelligencer* called the attention of farmers to the wasteful practice of leaving fruit trees to take care of themselves and propagate from seed when much better results could be obtained by grafting.²⁵

Farmers were advised to select their varieties of fruit carefully; flavor, ability of trees to bear heavily, and keeping qualities were all emphasized. One writer, after examining several varieties, concluded that the best apples for the western

²³ *Western Emigrant*, January 24, 1839.

²⁴ *Missouri Statesman*, April 20, 1860.

²⁵ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), July 9, 1831.

country were Newton Pippins and Rochramains.²⁶ Careful instructions in selecting soil and setting out orchards were often given. A deep mellow loam was regarded as most favorable for fruit trees, and it was believed that they should be planted in rows 18 to 20 feet apart with the trees at least 12 feet apart in the rows.²⁷

In 1842 an article appeared in the *Columbia Patriot* giving advice on grape culture. The writer recommended grapes as one of the most useful and easiest to cultivate of all fruits the farmer could raise. Isabella, Catawba, and Clinton varieties were classed as best suited to the farmers' needs and were described as being very easy to propagate. To start a vineyard it was only necessary to get cuttings from someone who was pruning his vines.²⁸ About 1846 Robert Holliday, near Hannibal, discovered that slips of fine grapes could be inserted into the roots of native (wild) vines and made to grow luxuriantly and produce fruit in a very short time.²⁹ He produced a number of fine grapes the second year after the grafting. The editor of the *Missouri Statesman* urged all farmers to try this simple and inexpensive experiment. Articles of this nature were very useful and seem to have had effect. By 1850 there were two or three good vineyards in Cooper county and others were being prepared for fall planting.³⁰ Seven years later

²⁶*Ibid.*, May 17, 1834. The Newton Pippin was known in this country during Colonial days, and was the first American apple to become popular in Europe. Benjamin Franklin took some of these apples to Europe as early as 1759. Newton Pippins spread rapidly over the United States after 1800.

Rochramains, later known as Ralls, were probably Virginia seedlings although sometimes reported to have been brought to Thomas Jefferson by M. Génét when he was the French minister to this country. This variety has spread from the East to the Ozarks and north to Michigan. It was one of the best early varieties. Beach, S. A., *The Apples of New York*, pp. 147-148, 272.

²⁷*Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), February 28, 1835.

²⁸*Columbia Patriot*, January 9, 1842. The Catawba grape was found in Maryland as early as 1819. It was introduced into New York about 1823 and into Ohio by 1825. It was the most popular early American grape.

Clinton grapes began to attract attention in New York and surrounding states about 1840, having been introduced in 1835. They were best known for their hardiness.

The Isabella was introduced in New York about 1816 and for half a century ranked with the Catawba as the most important grape in America. It spread rapidly until about 1860. Hedrick, U. P., *The Grapes of New York*, pp. 204-207, 214-215.

²⁹*Missouri Statesman*, September 18, 1846.

³⁰*Boonville Observer*, May 30, 1850.

quite an extensive wine-growing district had developed. It was reported that about three thousand gallons of Catawba wine were produced there in the fall of 1855 and the estimate for 1857 was from eight thousand to ten thousand gallons.³¹

Nurseries began to advertise fruit trees and grafts by 1850. The advertisements became more numerous by 1860. William Pulliam, two and one-half miles northeast of Rocheport, had for sale in 1850 several thousand apple grafts of one and two-year growths, consisting of thirty-five different varieties.³² This nursery was still selling fruit trees in 1859.³³

Besides the local nurseries, reports indicate that R. Mattison and company of Genesee Falls nurseries, near Rochester, New York, sold over \$33,000 worth of fruit trees in Missouri in 1858; \$4000 worth of these were delivered to Boone county.³⁴ Sales were made through local storekeepers. Other well known nurseries in central and western Missouri were the Lexington and St. Joseph nurseries owned by F. Mock and company, J. R. Peters nurseries at Liberty, and Peters and Long nursery of Liberty.³⁵

Livestock improvement drew more attention from Missouri's agricultural leaders than did the improvement of crops, orchards, or gardens. Lewis Cecil Gray lists Missouri among the three livestock states of the South.³⁶ Livestock could be marketed more easily than grains. Farm animals were more valuable relative to bulk than grain, and they could be sent to market under their own power if necessary. As more farm machinery was brought into use, horses and mules became more and more important. Oxen were too slow for effective use with the new machinery. Although more rugged and well adapted to working in stump ground and pulling cumbersome plows through the tough virgin prairies, oxen could not compete with horses and mules after the stumps were removed, the prairies opened, and efficient plows adopted.

³¹ *Missouri Statesman*, April 3, 1857.

³² *Ibid.*, March 1, 1850.

³³ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1859.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, November 12, 1858.

³⁵ *Liberty Tribune*, March 21, 1856, November 26, 1858, February 15, 1854.

³⁶ Gray, Lewis Cecil, *A History of Agriculture in The Southern United States to 1860*, Vol. II, p. 785.

Advocates of farm improvement began to urge livestock raisers to take good care of their animals rather early in the period. By 1830 articles were appearing in Missouri newspapers advising farmers to feed their stock well even if corn was scarce. Most of the writers believed that when grain was scarce it should be ground and mixed with finely cut hay and straw. This practice was suggested to conserve grain.³⁷

By 1833 articles were appearing in Missouri advocating more careful selection of breeding stock. Advocates of farm improvement urged farmers to adopt the methods of Bakewell, the English stock breeder, and apply them to the improvement of their stock.³⁸

The men who preached reform of breeding practices claimed that the better stock would put on a great deal more weight than the scrubs and at a minimum cost for food. The following comment taken from the *Nashville Naturalist* by the editor of the *Boonville Observer* is a good statement of the reformers' attitude:

But do we hear some one whisper, that the day for Durhams, Berkshires, &c., is past—away with 'humbugs'. We venture, there is not an intelligent farmer who does not see vast improvements by the introduction of English stock

We feel assured, the crosses of Berkshires and with the common stock of the country, have added considerably to the pork growing facilities; and who will assert that English cattle have failed to increase the beef and milk of the country³⁹

Because of their rapid reproduction and their ability to thrive without much care, hogs were especially well-adapted to the needs of the pioneer farmer. They could feed on acorns in the heavy timbers which grew on most farms and were able to protect themselves from the wolves and other wild animals which were so destructive to sheep in the western country.

Soon after 1830 there was much criticism of the neglectful practice of letting hogs run in the woods and take care of themselves. The advocates of improvement contended that the long,

³⁷ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), November 6, 1830.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, February 23, 1833.

³⁹ *Boonville Observer*, May 30, 1850.

thin, large-boned hogs cost from 25 to 50 per cent more to fatten than the good breeds and that the bacon from improved types was worth 25 per cent more than that from common hogs.⁴⁰ Other writers urged farmers to allow the hogs sufficient time for fattening. The practice of letting them run until fall and then gorging them with corn for a few weeks before butchering or marketing was condemned as exceedingly wasteful.⁴¹ Hogs which had been running free all summer could consume an unbelievable amount of corn and still remain thin.⁴²

Although there seems to have been less interest in sheep raising in Missouri than in other types of livestock, Merino, Cotswalds, Saxony, and Oxfordshire breeds were all raised, as well as some others less frequently mentioned. When stock breeders offered fine bucks or ewes for sale, farmers in the surrounding territory were urged to buy them in order to improve their flocks.⁴³ Breeders and importers of fine sheep received praise for increasing the value of livestock in the State, and there seems to have been a general feeling that these animals would be crossed with the common stock, thus improving the quality of sheep in general.⁴⁴ There is little available evidence as to how general the practice of crossing common stock with pure bred rams became, but reports indicate that it was more prevalent with sheep and hogs than with the more expensive animals. Newspaper reports and premium lists of agricultural fairs indicate that sheep raising was more important in western Missouri than in the central and eastern parts. It is quite possible, and even probable, that breeding stock was being sent from Missouri to the West where an extensive sheep raising industry sprang up during the fifties.

The importance of horses and mules in connection with the development of lighter and more efficient farm implements has already been indicated. Horses and mules became important rather early in Missouri and their number and im-

⁴⁰ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), November 17, 1832.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, October 4, 1834.

⁴² *Missouri Statesman*, October 22, 1847.

⁴³ *Liberty Tribune*, August 21, 1847.

⁴⁴ *Missouri Statesman*, June 24, 1853.

portance increased rapidly throughout the whole period under consideration. Good stallions were standing in several communities as early as 1830.⁴⁵ Suggestions for the improvement of horses were much less general than those about other livestock. Most of the evidence that improvement was going on is found in the "horse bills" advertising the "blooded stallions" whose services were offered to the surrounding neighborhood. As horses became more valuable the advertisements multiplied and the price for service became somewhat higher. In 1858 fourteen fine stallions and jacks were advertised in one issue of the *Missouri Statesman*.⁴⁶ This, of course, does not take into account those that were not advertised and the new advertisements which were being inserted frequently.

Owners of stallions frequently held colt shows and gave premiums to the best yearling colts out of their stallions.⁴⁷ The majority of farmers, however, did not benefit as much as they should have from the later improvements because of the tendency to breed racers which were not well adapted to farm work.⁴⁸ In order to offset this tendency, W. V. Hodges of Liberty imported a horse in 1852 which he advertised as being of the proper size, bone, and action for the farmers of Clay county.⁴⁹

Mules were becoming important in Missouri by the early thirties. In 1832 the returning Santa Fe traders brought in thirteen hundred mules, seventeen jacks, and thirty-five jennets.⁵⁰ There were several such importations reported during the thirties, and farmers soon began to consider the advantages of working mules instead of horses. The following comparisons were made between horses and mules:

1. A good mule will do as much work on a farm as a horse while he maintains his strength.
2. A mule will last twice as long as a horse.
3. A horse is more liable to disease.

⁴⁵ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Fayette), March 19, 1830.

⁴⁶ *Missouri Statesman*, April 16, 1858.

⁴⁷ *Liberty Tribune*, July 10, 1857.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, September 10, 1847.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1852.

⁵⁰ *Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), November 10, 1832.

4. A mule can subsist in summer on pasture alone and in winter, while not working, on hay, while a horse must have grain.
5. A mule need not be shod more than once a year during a season of ice while a horse must be shod four times.⁵¹

The importance of mules in Missouri is pretty well indicated by a letter from a Kentucky traveler published by the *Missouri Statesman* in 1857. This traveler declared that mules were almost legal tender in Kentucky and Missouri because they were so valuable and easily sold. He said most people would rather work them than horses because they were more economical. He estimated the average price of yearlings at about \$75.00 per head.⁵²

Missourians became interested in good cattle early in the thirties when the leaders started urging farmers to improve their stock. The influence of Kentucky was probably a dominant factor in bringing about an early interest in livestock improvement. Although considered a western state at the time, Kentucky was a pioneer in improved stock breeding, and many of her farmers moved to Missouri, bringing with them the best cattle and horses in America. Farmers were urged to imitate Kentucky cattle breeders who were making good profits on their blooded stock. The report of a particularly profitable sale of cattle by a stock breeder was often followed by the suggestion that improved cattle brought success to breeders.⁵³ Many suggestions were also given for the care of cattle. Farmers did not provide enough shelter or feed for their cattle, and a New York farmer who traveled through several of the western states believed that negligence was the universal cause of sickness among cattle in the western country.⁵⁴

Interest developed early in crossing a few purebred cattle in Missouri with the common stock in order to improve the general quality. Anthony W. Rollins of Boone county, John

⁵¹*Ibid.*, June 12, 1830; *Missouri Statesman*, August 9, 1850.

⁵²*Missouri Statesman*, September 25, 1857.

⁵³*Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), September 17, 1831.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, December 15, 1832.

Garnett of Cooper county, and George Tompkins of Cole county were among the first to cross Durham cattle with the common breeds and offer the calves for sale to farmers.⁶⁴ The farmers were strongly urged to buy these half and three-quarter breeds and build up their own stock.⁶⁵

On May 16, 1856, the *Missouri Statesman* carried an article, one entire column in length, which was a general summary of the advice given to farmers in connection with improving their breeds of cattle. The writer emphasized the following points:

1. Farmers should improve their herds by getting superior Shorthorn bulls and cows from other herds.
2. Farmers should breed only healthy animals, those with good pedigrees, and get new blood by importing bulls and cows from a distance.
3. To breed for milk, get bulls from milching herds.
4. Do not get breeding animals in high flesh for show purposes.⁶⁷

From this discussion it can be seen that, even in the days of pioneer farming, Missourians were interested in improving their farming practices. Although at the end of the period under discussion most farmers were probably backward if judged by modern standards, a beginning had been made and much interest aroused in improving the methods of farming. Who can say that our modern improvements could have been accomplished without the foundation that was laid by these early farmers and agitators who saw that there was a need for improvement?

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, June 28, 1834; *Western Emigrant*, March 5, 1840; *Jeffersonian Republican*, August 15, 1840.

⁶⁵*Missouri Intelligencer* (Columbia), June 28, 1834.

⁶⁷*Missouri Statesman*, May 16, 1856.

WALT WHITMAN VISITS ST. LOUIS, 1879

BY ROBERT R. HUBACH¹

On his return by steamboat to the East from New Orleans in May 1848 when he was only 29 years old, Walt Whitman spent several hours rambling about St. Louis before branching from the Mississippi river and changing steamers for his trip up the Illinois river to Chicago.² He was in St. Louis for a much longer period of time, however, in 1879. At the invitation of Colonel John W. Forney, Philadelphia publisher, and the Old Settlers of Kansas committee, he made a later trip to the West to be a guest of honor and to read his poetry at the Kansas celebration, to see the Great Plains and Rocky mountains, and to visit one of his brothers, Thomas Jefferson Whitman, water commissioner of St. Louis, and his family. Whitman stopped at St. Louis only briefly on his journey to Kansas and Colorado, but spent approximately three months with his brother when he came back to the Missouri city.

The party, en route to the Kansas quarter-centennial celebration, left West Philadelphia by what is now the Pennsylvania railroad on the evening of September 10, 1879. Whitman's prose journal, *Specimen Days*, contains ample comments on the trip.³ The poet had never taken a long train journey before so he was vividly impressed by the great size and speed of the locomotive and cars and by the vast distances he traversed.

"Left West Philadelphia after 9 o'clock one night, middle of September, in a comfortable sleeper," he noted and listed the cities and states he passed through: Harrisburg and Pitts-

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²Whitman, Walt, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, edited by Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel, "Prose," Vol. III, p. 212; Binns, Henry Bryan, *A Life of Walt Whitman*, pp. 53-54; Holloway, Emory, *Whitman, An Interpretation in Narrative*, p. 75.

³Whitman, Walt, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. I, pp. 252-284.

burgh, Pennsylvania—the West Virginia Panhandle—Columbus, Ohio—Indianapolis, Indiana: then Illinois and on to St. Louis, which he reached on September 12.

What a fierce weird pleasure to lie in my berth at night in the luxurious palace-car, drawn by the mighty Baldwin—embodying and filling me, too, full of the swiftest motion, and most resistless strength!

he wrote, as he felt the power and mystery of traveling by rail at night. The train was to have made the run from Philadelphia to St. Louis in thirty-six hours, but a collision at Urbana, Ohio made it three hours late and injured several people.⁴

Although Whitman and the Forney party spent only a day in St. Louis at this time, they took rooms at the Planters' House, according to the *St. Louis Republican*, and made extensive sightseeing tours of the city immediately after their breakfasts. In a separate paragraph entitled "Walt Whitman," the same newspaper minutely described the poet's appearance and noted that he was highly pleased with St. Louis.⁵

When Whitman first arrived in the city and before his two nieces and other young ladies coaxed him to a carriage drive, a *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* reporter interviewed him, commenting on his unusual appearance and asking about his purposes in visiting the West and about his present literary activities.⁶ The poet and the Forney party left by rail the next day for the West, stopping at Kansas City, Missouri, at Lawrence, Topeka, Atchison, Wallace, and Sterling, Kansas, and at Denver, Colorado before returning to St. Louis almost two weeks later.⁷

Fully impressed by the vastness of the prairies and the majesty of the mountains, Whitman reached St. Louis again

⁴Ibid., pp. 252-253; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), September 13, 1879; Hubach, Robert R., "Three Uncollected St. Louis Interviews of Walt Whitman" in *American Literature*, Vol. XIV (May 1942), pp. 141-142. This article reprints important conversations between the poet and newspaper reporters.

⁵*Missouri Republican*, September 13, 1879.

⁶*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 13, 1879.

⁷Hubach, Robert R., "Walt Whitman in Kansas" in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X (May 1941), pp. 150-154; Gleed, Charles S. (ed.), *The Kansas Memorial, A Report of the Old Settlers Meeting . . . Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879*.

probably during the early part of October and took up his abode at the home of his brother at 2316 Pine street. Financial difficulties were the principal reasons for his extended presence in the city at this time. It was fortunate that, while Whitman was in St. Louis, James T. Fields wrote a letter to John Burroughs, close friend of Walt, enclosing a check for \$100 to be given to the poet.⁸

Thomas Jefferson was one of Whitman's favorite brothers; it was he who had accompanied the writer on his journey to New Orleans in 1848. His wife, Mattie, who died in 1873, was Whitman's favorite sister-in-law.⁹ So, aside from the many attractions of the city itself, the necessarily prolonged stay in St. Louis was not unpleasant.

Whitman, indeed, considered St. Louis one of America's outstanding cities. In *Speciman Days* in a memorandum dated "Oct., Nov., and Dec., '79," he pointed out its wealth and riches, its excellent location, cosmopolitan character, bustling business district, breweries, and slaughter houses.¹⁰ In another section of his complete writings he noted its glass factories and smelters.¹¹ For a poet he was easily impressed by materialistic wealth and, like most romanticists, often overlooked the less agreeable aspects of things.¹²

When a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* newsman interviewed him at his brother's house in October, it was not surprising, then, that Whitman said America's first concern was materialistic prosperity. He elaborated by commenting on our country's artistic and literary needs and continued by discussing the future of American literature, as well as its present reliance on old world models. He adversely criticized the work of Whittier, Howells, Harte, and others, but found praise for Emerson and the Englishman Tennyson. In this interview, the most important one made at St. Louis, he explained much

⁸Barrus, Clara, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades*, pp. 188-190.

⁹Traubel, Horace L., Bucke, Richard M., and Harned, Thomas B., *In Re Walt Whitman*, pp. 73-92.

¹⁰Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. I, pp. 281-282; Bazalgette, Leon, *Walt Whitman—The Man and His Work*, p. 268.

¹¹Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. III, pp. 168-170.

¹²Arvin, Newton, Whitman, however, seems to overemphasize Whitman's economic misconceptions.

of his theory of poetry—his purpose was to present America and his entire personality in his verse. He expressed faith in our nation's great future and closed by stating that America's strength lay in the bulk of her people, not in a gentry, and that Lincoln was our greatest specimen personality.¹³

Always he had faith in the West; Lincoln himself, whom he so greatly admired, was a western man and St. Louis was a western city. Although born on Long Island, Whitman considered himself primarily a Westerner. In the same *Post-Dispatch* interview, he fervently exclaimed that his own poetry, more than he realized, was essentially western:

I have come now a couple of thousand miles, and the greatest thing to me in this Western country is the realization of my "Leaves of Grass." It tickles me hugely to find how thoroughly it and I have been in rapport. How my poems have defined them. I had made Western people talk to me, but I never knew how thoroughly a Western man I was till now.

His poetry, it is true, was new, original, expansive, and unpolished, like the West he visited in 1879.

Many features of St. Louis interested Whitman, but what made the deepest impression was the Mississippi river, which, to him, as he wrote in *Specimen Days*, was earth's most important stream and welded the entire United States together. Every night, he wrote in a jotting on October 29, 30, and 31, again in *Specimen Days*, he haunted the great river and the Eads bridge, which he admired as one of the architectural marvels of its day,¹⁴ and watched the moonlight on the waters. Nights on the Mississippi!

I hear the slight ripples, the air is fresh and cool, and the view up or down, wonderfully clear, in the moonlight. I am out pretty late: it is so fascinating, dreamy. The cool night air, all the influences, the silence, with those far-off eternal stars, do me good.¹⁵

¹³St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, October 17, 1879.

¹⁴Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades*, p. 190; Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. V, p. 165.

¹⁵Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. I, p. 283; Biunas, *A Life of Walt Whitman*, p. 273.

And possibly he thought of how much water had flowed past St. Louis and of how much time had elapsed since his first western trip thirty-one years ago.¹⁶

In the same paragraph and in a letter written on November 5 to Peter Doyle, a railroad man and one of his best friends, he remarked that he had not been well in St. Louis. Indeed in the *Post-Dispatch* interview previously summarized, mention was made of his recuperating from illness. Ever since he had been hauled into the city after an attack of sickness, he wrote to Pete, he had been somewhat under the weather, partly because the air of the locale did not agree with him.¹⁷

He wrote to Burroughs on November 23 that he would probably be in St. Louis for only about ten days longer but that he was very comfortably situated. In the same letter he spoke of a post card he had just received from Mrs. Gilchrist, the English woman who was so interested that she came to America to see him. He also mentioned a map tracing his western travels which he had sent to Burroughs.¹⁸

It is not difficult to picture the white-haired, bearded, prematurely-old gentleman walking slowly, cane in hand, down the populous St. Louis streets of the late 1870s. From early youth Whitman had loved people and had enjoyed associating with them. Most men and women, in turn, responded in a friendly manner to his appealing personality. Small wonder that he enjoyed Third, Fourth, and Fifth streets, which now, however, have lost their former significance.

Fourth, Fifth and Third Streets are store streets, showy, modern, metropolitan, with hurrying crowds, vehicles, horse-cars, hubbub, plenty of people, rich goods, plate-glass windows, iron fronts often five or six stories high. You can purchase anything in St. Louis . . . just as readily and cheaply as in the Atlantic marts.¹⁹

Even at that time St. Louis was well-established, and Whitman commented in the same paragraph about the re-

¹⁶Holloway, *Whitman, An Interpretation in Narrative*, p. 297.

¹⁷Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman, "Prose,"* Vol. V, pp. 163-166; Traubel, Horace L., *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. II, p. 556.

¹⁸Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs*, p. 188. This book contains a reproduction of the map.

¹⁹Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman, "Prose,"* Vol. I, p. 282.

minders of old civilization he saw there. Like most poets, he was deeply affected by everything around him and he avidly sought all points of interest in this city of what was then the West.

Although not well and nearing old age, he found time, he said in a note dated "Oct., Nov., etc., '79", to spend an hour daily in the St. Louis Mercantile library on Fourth street, where he read the New York and Philadelphia papers, doubtless seeking press comments on his own writings in particular. There he noticed, among other things, a photograph of Edgar Allan Poe, a bust of Thomas H. Benton, and a large statue of a Mr. Shaw, St. Louis philanthropist.²⁰

Whitman had been a school teacher in his youth and for many years had taken interest in the schools. So it is not surprising that he visited the St. Louis kindergartens. Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, his first biographer, recorded that in St. Louis the poet was in the habit of visiting classrooms twice a week and spending an hour at a time among the children who gathered around to hear him tell stories.²¹ At first the pupils thought him strange, wrote another biographer, but soon they forgot their alarm over his size and the whiteness of his hair and grew to love old "Kris Kringle" or "Father Christmas," as they called him.²²

Horace Traubel, close friend of Whitman during the latter part of the poet's life, has recorded that on December 29, 1888, Whitman recalled how he visited the schools at St. Louis "years ago" and narrated to the children the quaint fable of the cats. The one cat saw only squalor everywhere about him and the other found beauty in the same places.²³

An interesting incident is told of how one Saturday Whitman drifted into a conversation with a very conventional schoolmarm. She was unbelievably shocked when she learned that she had been talking to the author of "the dreadful book," *Leaves of Grass*.²⁴

²⁰Whitman, Walt, *Walt Whitman's Diary in Canada. With Extracts From Other of His Diaries and Literary Notebooks*, p. 56; Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs*, p. 188.

²¹Bucke, Richard M., *Walt Whitman*, p. 63.

²²Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman*, p. 273.

²³Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. III, pp. 411-412.

²⁴Corbett, Elizabeth, *Walt*, pp. 275-279.

Although Whitman himself has amply recorded the more salient aspects of his last sojourn in St. Louis in his literary notebooks, it is still impossible to discover his every activity in the city. He was an invalid for a portion of the time, but he probably spent many happy hours taking carriage drives, visiting different parts of the city—the fair grounds, the parks, and the business and residential districts—and conversing with his brother and nieces. And then, of course, there was always the river, the library, and the schools. He spoke of a winter thaw and fog in a later note to Burroughs and said he was leaving St. Louis on Sunday morning, January 4, 1880, at eight o'clock.²⁵ In *Specimen Days* he recorded that he returned to his home in the East on January 5, "having travers'd, to and fro and across 10,000 miles and more."²⁶

On January 7, the *Camden Post* contained the following resume of his trip:

WALT WHITMAN HOME AGAIN.—After an absence since last August Walt Whitman returned yesterday to his home in Camden. . . . His travel has been mainly devoted to Colorado, Kansas and Missouri. . . . His objects of especial attention have been the Rocky Mountains, the Great Plains, and the Mississippi River, with their life, scenery and idiosyncrasies. Of the West generally he says not the half has been told. He is in love with Denver City, and speaks admiringly of Missouri and Indiana. . . . After some pretty rugged experiences, and a tedious fit of sickness, he returns to Camden in his average health, and with strength and spirits "good enough to be mighty thankful for," as he expresses it.²⁷

So ended Whitman's last trip to the West. It was something he was to remember all the rest of his life—something which he never grew tired of talking about to his friends.²⁸ He was in St. Louis longer than in any other western city. So, although he liked Denver more, he knew the larger metropolis better, appreciated its significance, and included it in a list of his favorite cities.²⁹

²⁵Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades*, pp. 189-190.

²⁶Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. I, pp. 283-284.

²⁷Bucke, *Walt Whitman*, p. 221.

²⁸Hartman, Sadakichi, *Conversations with Walt Whitman*, pp. 22-23; Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. II, p. 183; Vol. III, p. 310.

²⁹Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. II, p. 29.

Here was his brother Thomas Jefferson, here was the mighty Mississippi, and here on the prairies, housed within the people themselves, was the material for a new and greater literature of the West, which Whitman prophesied would some day reach fruition. It, like his own writing, would be new—something based on the land itself, on the prairies, the mountains, the rivers, and the cities of the West.³⁰

³⁰Whitman, *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, "Prose," Vol. I, pp. 275-277; Silver, Rollo G. "Walt Whitman Interviews Himself" in *American Literature*, Vol. X (March 1938), pp. 85-86; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 17, 1879.

PORTRAIT OF A PIONEER PHYSICIAN

BY PIERRE R. PORTER¹

On a June morning in the year 1865 the steamer *Emily* glided swiftly down the muddy Missouri. The annual spring rise rendered the sunken sand bars less dangerous; one could hazard the guess that the steamer would reach its destination without delay, for the channel, navigable only a few months of the year, was this day full to overflowing. Equally full to overflowing with the joys of anticipation was the group of children, picnic-bound, which had just descended the gang-plank at Parkville. The few remaining passengers looked regretfully after them, knowing that the children took with them something that had been lacking in their own lives in the recent turbulent years.

Among those left on the boat was a young man returning to civilian life. Four years of military life lay behind him; ahead stretched an unchartered course, his pilot his conscience, his guiding star the realization that he must swim or sink. He had served under Grant and from him he had learned to despise defeat. Besides, his father was Scotch-Irish and his mother was Dutch.

A gentle summer shower greeted the *Emily* as she rounded the big bend in the river and landed on the levee at the "City of Kansas," now Kansas City, Missouri. It was high noon. The only sign of life on the levee was the sun driving the clouds away as the cooling rain ceased. No carriage, no hack, no hotel runner, only an Irishman asleep on a one-horse dray. But this "City" was the destination of the army surgeon who had come to look the town over with the appraising eye of

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"Portrait of a Pioneer Physician" is a sketch of the early days of the author's father, Dr. David Rittenhouse Porter, in Kansas City. The quotations are from his unpublished holographic manuscript, "Reminiscences."

one about to make a new start in life. He felt that he was a stranger but not in a strange land; it was only the people—if there were any—who would be strange. He knew the land well; in the fall of 1861, his regiment, the Fifth Kansas cavalry, had camped for two weeks in a thick walnut grove about a mile south of the now deserted levee.

If they had known of his intended arrival, many Missourians might have been on hand to welcome him—but not in a way in which one would wish to be welcomed—for he had been one of forty volunteers, who, under the leadership of General Jim Lane, had burned and sacked Osceola where General Sterling Price had collected stores to cover his anticipated retreat southward after the journey north to intercept the Federal troops at Lexington. Confederate minded historians, likening the destruction of this military objective to the Quantrill raid upon Lawrence, Kansas, tell us that the lives of twenty defenseless citizens of Osceola were taken in this raid, but Doctor David Rittenhouse Porter, then a private, has left for posterity an eye-witness account in which he estimates the total dead as "one poor fellow in blue jeans."

But the "City of Kansas" would not have withheld the keys of the city because of what happened in 1861 at the little town of Osceola a hundred miles away, for the city had been in the possession of Federal troops, three companies of cavalry and two companies of infantry, from 1861-1865. Those who wanted to secede had actually done so by withdrawing to the country districts which were overwhelmingly loyal to the southern cause.

It is idle to speculate upon whether there might have been a reception committee, friendly or otherwise; he walked up town alone. The journey was indeed *up*, the city being built on high bluffs, exceeding in number even the seven hills of Rome. Steep cliffs came close to the water's edge, the levee being a narrow strip of land in front of a row of stone and brick warehouses.

The keystone of these weather-beaten structures was a ramshackle hotel known as the Gillis House where Thomas Hart Benton and his poetic son-in-law John Charles Frémont stayed in 1853 when they tried to introduce camels as beasts

of burden for hot weather trips across the plains; where also, in the border days, refugees sought shelter; where Governor Reeder, fleeing from slave-holding southerners who sought his life, was so well concealed from prying eyes that they did not recognize him when he came out of the hotel disguised as a wood chopper with an ax over his shoulder. Down the river the governor of Kansas territory went unmolested and the disappointed mob dispersed with its lust for blood unsatisfied.

But now those dangerous days were over. Peace had come at last; on this very day the people were voting upon the adoption of a new state constitution. Perhaps that was why they were not at the levee.

Although peace had come, the embers of strife were still burning. As a result of the voting on this day, all those who had served in the armies of the Confederacy or who had sustained those who did serve were disfranchised, and an oath of loyalty was required of all public officials, jurors, lawyers, teachers, and ministers of the gospel. It was not difficult to adopt such highhanded measures because only those who were known to have been for the northern side were allowed to vote.

Doctor Porter, a newcomer, knew nothing of this election. Nor did he care. His thoughts were otherwise engaged; he was looking for a place to stay while he made up his mind where to begin his practice. He asked a policeman, who, as often happens on election day, was available for any purpose not connected with the election, to direct him to a good hotel.

"The Pacific House at Fourth and Delaware," said the policeman "is a good place to stay—during the war the Federal officers stayed there, but now it has been fitted up again and opened to the public." Bob Hall, formerly of Kentucky, met him at the door and escorted him with southern hospitality to a bed in a large room already occupied by four or five other guests. This was not exactly what he had expected, but it was better than fighting mosquitoes all night in southern swamps.

The future was uncertain: there were not as many people in Kansas City as there were when the war started: the self-

exiled citizens were only just beginning to return. Many transients came up the river; some settled down, but most of them pushed on to the fertile fields of Kansas or down toward Pleasant Hill, a thriving Missouri town about thirty-five miles from the river. Three of the men in the large room at the hotel were bound for the interior. They had come from the prairie land of Illinois and the rugged river bluffs along the Missouri did not appeal to them.

Doctor Porter was born in Jefferson county, Ohio, upon the Ohio river, where the bluffs were higher but less forbidding. To him, a hilly country was a relief after the flat and treacherous bottom-land of the lower Mississippi; it was like getting back home. The legends of available farming land so alluring to the Illinois farmers meant nothing to him. He was there to minister to the sick and he knew that the hollows and ravines between the hills contained the germs of malaria and typhoid, the two types of fever most prevalent in river bound places. King Quinine ruled over the lives of those who lived near stagnant pools, and no one had had more experience with this early day remedy than this army surgeon.

Three days later he tramped the rickety board sidewalks and the unpaved streets of the crude town; one afternoon he sat down to rest upon the flat stump of a tree in a large field of blue-grass. Here he tried to think things out in a solitude which, because of his loneliness, was oppressive. Two or three mule-drawn wagons loaded with plows or cultivators passed, driven by farmers going to town to have the plows and cultivators repaired. Nothing else disturbed the peace and quiet of the scene.

That evening in a store window he saw a circular, printed in bold type, inviting the public to a strawberry festival at Long's hall, the only public hall in town. Here he came in contact with three luxuries of which he had been deprived during his four years at the front. These luxuries, listed in the order of their importance in the mind of a friendless youth, were ladies, ice cream, and strawberries. Friendships were quickly formed by these late arrivals who measured their time of residence in terms of days or weeks rather than years or even months. A few old-timers—those who had stayed

during the war—welcomed them, but the great majority were strangers to one another, all seeking to meet on terms of equality. The past was forgotten; the immediate future was all that counted. Some of them had brought their families, and a few had surplus funds, but most of them—the ladies as well as the gentlemen—were unencumbered with either relatives or money, having only a carpet bag.

These patrons of the strawberry festival had come up the river or overland in wagons, for railroads there were none. A few had ridden into town on horseback, and others had probably come "under their own power," of which method of transportation nothing was said or even inquired of. No questions were asked of anybody about anything. All were invited to become residents of the growing "City of Kansas," the future greatest city west of the river, meaning the Missouri or the Mississippi, depending upon the imagination of the speaker.

Doctor Porter's reaction to the evening at Long's hall was that the "City of Kansas" was a good place to live in, but to a medical man there was another and more important question, was the city a good place to die in? He would ask Edward Stine, the one and only undertaker.

"How's business?" asked the doctor. The undertaker, who was an older man with some knowledge of his fellowman, noted that the dignified appearance of the stranger indicated that something more than idle curiosity or a desire to be funny had prompted the inquiry.

"Business is improving," he replied, "I have no cause to complain." The doctor announced that he was an army surgeon seeking a location. "Well," said Stine with a faint smile, "if an undertaker can make money, a doctor ought to be able to make a living; if you do not get along here, it will be your own fault."

"Are there many doctors here?"

"Seems as if a new one showed up every day, but I doubt if many of them have had much experience."

"The war gave us plenty of that," volunteered the newcomer.

"I don't doubt it," said the undertaker, whose faint smile had changed to a broad grin. "I came here in '61; for four years I buried all the Union soldiers under a contract with Colonel Case, the quartermaster. Judging by the number of corpses turned over to me you must have had plenty of experience."

The two men discussed the question from every angle,—quite objectively and professionally, as if they were engaged in a game of chess where each corpse was a pawn on the board. They knew, instinctively, that the future would bring them together as co-workers in the game of life and death.

"Your questions indicate that you are about to make an important decision; let me make a suggestion. This afternoon I have a funeral. Come along. You will learn a lot more about this town at one of my entertainments than you will at ten strawberry socials."

Doctor Porter hesitated; he had always regarded a funeral as a private ceremony for the friends and relatives of the deceased.

"Forget all that, Doctor. If you were a lawyer, you would go to the courthouse and watch a trial; the court room would be your natural habitat and you would want to study the judge and the jury and the lawyers before you decided to settle here. Now, as a doctor, your final forum is the cemetery, the mourners are the jury, the minister is the attorney for the defense, and the undertaker always is the court of last resort."

Doctor Porter broke into a laugh. "You seem to be quite a philosopher," he remarked. "Did you learn all that from burying soldiers?"

"No, indeed. Before the war I was in the furniture business. All undertakers start there and some end there. If you sell a customer, especially a woman, a bed to sleep in and she is satisfied, she naturally thinks that one of your coffins would be just the thing to lie in after death."

Under the guidance of the undertaker, the doctor made a post-mortem examination—not of the corpse but of the pall-bearers and the friends and relatives. He noted the presence of two factors which, although of doubtful scientific value,

were abnormal; the women all wore sunbonnets, seemingly a part of their Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes, and the mourners were taken to the cemetery in omnibuses—seats running lengthwise and aisles full of straw for muddy boots. From all of these post-mortem symptoms he made the deduction that in the "City of Kansas" in 1865 the sun was hot, the streets were always muddy or dusty, the people suffered from wet feet in winter and dry throats in summer, and that the popular remedy for either was whiskey.

II.

A new shingle with "Dr. D. R. Porter" in black letters hung flapping in the wind at the bottom of a long, narrow stairway running on the outside of a two-story frame building from the sidewalk to the upper floor. One room—6 x 10—was large enough for the doctor and his prospective patients provided he could get along with a small desk, a desk chair, and another chair for a visitor. Moreover, this small room would have to do, because office space was at a premium, becoming each day more difficult to find.

In July a grocery clerk came in for a prescription and in August a bus driver who appeared on the cash book as a "transient" paid \$5.00 for his medical repairs. Except for these two callers, the chair was vacant and soon became grey with the particles of dust which blew up from the street.

Time hung heavily on the doctor's hands, but he was not idle. He spent nearly all of his waking hours in this room, devouring the few medical books obtainable, but frequently his mind would wander and doubt and even despair would creep into his thoughts and cause him to feel that he had located in the wrong place. It took courage and tenacity of will to hang on until the public sought his services, but September finally came and people began to come down with malarial fever. He took in more than \$100 in that month alone.

The young doctors who were fresh from the army knew that they were starting from scratch and they were prepared to wait for fortune to favor them, but those of more mature years who had stayed out of the war were not so patient.

They expected to start in where they had left off when they came West; they failed to realize that in coming to a new country they also had to start from scratch; in fact, they had to start behind scratch. They were handicapped. Their failure to take part in the war—on either side—not only called for an explanation, which, from the beginning put them on the defensive, but also prevented them from having a common meeting ground with those who had war records, even though some of these war records were not always creditable. Discouraged and defeated, many of the older physicians disappeared, leaving the field to the younger men who stayed on to welcome new arrivals.

But all new arrivals were not welcome, even though they might be prospective patients, clients, or customers. In 1866 the dreaded disease of cholera paid its last visit to this country; it came from Europe in the early summer and traveled from east to west. The first cases were brought to Kansas City from St. Louis on the steamer *War Eagle*; they were emigrants on their way to Kansas. Some of them died on the journey up the river.

The medical details do not make pleasant reading, they belong in a medical journal. Doctor Porter kept an accurate history of his early cases. He played a part in this cholera visitation. Omitting some of the medical details, his story of this epidemic reads as follows:

The first case in this city was a Miss Kelly, daughter of a family keeping a boarding house at Main and West Levee. I was called to see her at 9 p. m. and remained with her all night, expecting her to die, but, about daylight, she took a turn for the better and got well. I believed it was cholera, but the landlady said that if I pronounced it cholera all of her boarders would leave. Shortly after daylight the Missouri Pacific train brought in the remains of Captain Lloyd who died on the train of cholera. I then made it known that I had just had a case of cholera the night before; it was the first case of cholera that I had ever seen. Some ten or twelve who landed from the *War Eagle* were taken out near Union Cemetery and placed in a tent and Doctor H—— and Doctor L—— were sent out to attend them. The patients nearly all died and both of the doctors filled themselves with whiskey and deserted their patients. From that time on we had a great many cases and fully half of them died. The epidemic lasted until December, 1866,—four months in all,—and there

were 117 deaths. My office was near the police station and since most of the cases occurred about midnight I was called to treat many of them. We believed that it was contagious, but we did not know how until, several years later, Doctor Koch discovered that the cholera bacillus was transmitted into the system either by food or drink. Our ignorance of the cause was very great—some thought it was in the air, like scarlet fever or measles. There were many theories. I noticed that most of our cases occurred on low ground, on the levee or up the ravine leading from the river up into the town, and all along these localities were springs and wells and old cisterns. The symptoms were . . . the pulse was almost imperceptible, then collapse and sudden death; with all of this severe cramps and pains. At that time hypodermic syringes were unknown; if we had had them, many would have been saved.

The people were greatly alarmed: you could not get a nurse for love or money. I had patients come into my office with not a single symptom of the disease who asked for medicine saying that they knew they were coming down with it. The epidemic brought me considerable business, but the majority of my patients were poor people who were not able to pay anything.

III.

The army surgeon was slowly but surely building up a practice, doing most of his work for charity yet making a modest living in a town where it did not cost much to live. He had not found it necessary to increase the size of his one-room office, since most of his practice took him outside of the office. When making his calls, he rode a white mule.

The Missouri mule was symbolic of the type of man best fitted to survive in the Midwest in the postbellum period. A man and a mule could go where a gentleman and a buggy could not go; up and down hills on cowpaths, across ravines and through creeks and swollen streams—by day and by night, in darkness so dense that only by the sense of touch could the way be found. Such was the life of the pioneer physician; a life that required a mule, a life that required a man.

Although pioneer physicians relied on mules for transport, yet there was one not infrequent occasion when the mule had to be harnessed to a wagon. Body-snatching has attracted the pen of no less a writer than Robert Louis Stevenson, but pioneer physicians who have written of their early days have rarely mentioned the practice. Those readers,

therefore, who hunger and thirst after nocturnal adventures in graveyards have been forced to feed upon the imagination of Mark Twain or of the author of *Peck's Bad Boy*. These authors have presented the humorous side of the story. The practice was immoral as well as illegal, but medical science has often made a virtue of necessity and the medical men of this pioneer community were no exception to the rule. In 1869 they felt the need of a local medical school—for self-improvement, if for no other reason.

They founded the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and our army surgeon became the demonstrator on anatomy. This required a clinic and a clinic required a corpse and the procurement of a corpse called for a clandestine visit to the cemetery—to the potter's field—with a wagon and a spade. In the dead of the night the deed could be done easily by one doctor alone if he was not disturbed, but the practice was to have an assistant. If worse came to worst and a night watchman appeared inopportunely, there was then a chance to deceptively carry off the disinterred body by the simple ruse of placing the arms of the corpse around the shoulders of the two men and walking the corpse between them to the wagon where the mule did the rest.

Although Doctor Porter, in his memoirs, touched but lightly upon these visits to the graveyard, he did not try to conceal the fact that he had resorted to the practice, as had also his colleagues. This is what he says:

The first subject I demonstrated was a colored woman that I resurrected from Union Cemetery. Well do I remember getting her out of the grave and hauling her downtown after midnight—every little noise sounded like a thunderbolt.

About his other activities as a general practitioner he goes into more detail:

Another matter of interest which has occurred during the fifty years of my professional activity is the change in the nature of all contagious diseases: small-pox, from 1862 to 1889 was so severe that fifty per cent of all confluent cases died, no matter what the care or treatment. The small-pox with which we have to deal now is so mild as to require little, if any, treatment. Its virulence is gone, and the same is true of diph-

theria, and the happy results which the profession is getting from anti-toxin are wholly due to the fact that diphtheria has lost its virulence and the microscope has given us many cases which we did not once recognize. The same is true of almost all diseases except a few like pneumonia which is just as fatal, if not more so, than it was fifty years ago. But the most astonishing change is, what has become of our malaria or old fashioned ague? I have thought that its absence was due to the non-use of branch water which was used by all of the pioneer settlers, but science claims that it was produced by the bite of a certain kind of mosquito and that this variety of mosquito has died out in the west but is still to be found in the swamps of Arkansas and Louisiana. This sounds plausible, although we still have our sloughs here, but no ague.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons maintained a high standard; the teachers were men in active practice who served without compensation, their reward being that they learned more from one another than the students did from them. But some of the faculty were not content with the experience gained from setting the fractured arms and legs of their comrades in arms on the battlefield. Doctor Porter was one of those who wanted to sit at the feet of the masters; in 1871-1872 he matriculated at Bellevue Medical hospital in New York City, a medical mecca which attracted pilgrims from all over the country. When he returned to the West, he resumed his practice and his teaching, continuing active in both until his death. In 1905 the medical school—the name of which had been changed in 1880 to Kansas City Medical college—merged with the University of Kansas where Doctor Porter held a chair as *Emeritus* until his death.

In 1878 when he was city physician, he established the first board of health, acting as president of the board. There followed isolation hospitals and the infested areas known as Hell's Half Acre, Toad-a-loup, Belvedere Hollow, and Vinegar Hill no longer menaced the public health.

The white mule of 1865 was now only a memory, but the tall silk hat, called a "stove-pipe," and the frock coat were still worn by all doctors, good, bad, and indifferent. With this costume, Doctor Porter wore a generous moustache which caused him to look like Bismarck or Cleveland. There must have been other points of similarity of appearance, since strangers were invariably impressed with his resemblance to

one or the other of these famous men. He not only looked the part of a distinguished man, but also acted it. He had great dignity; no one ever called him by his given name, nor by his last name without the title of Doctor.

His interest in the city of his choice was not confined to contagious diseases and infested areas. Another trick which nature had up her sleeve to plague the pioneer made quite an impression upon him; this phenomenon he described in the following words:

After the depression of 1873, which lasted until 1876, things began to pick up, notwithstanding the fact that we had a visitation of grasshoppers in the fall of 1874 and the spring of 1875. The ground was black with grasshoppers; after the first of June there was not a speck of anything green to be seen, except on the trees. Milch cows sold on the public square for \$10 and the money was spent to buy hay to keep the remaining cows alive. Governor Hardin ordered a day of prayer to get rid of the grasshoppers, but before the day arrived the grasshoppers got wings and flew away—where they went, we did not know, but they have never returned. This was a great disappointment to those who believed in a special dispensation of Providence, although they said that the intention had the same effect: we intended to ask the Lord to rid us of them and He sent them away just the same, only a little sooner than we had expected. This was a beautiful illustration of the working of nature, that intelligent force which does not make any mistakes and has her fixed laws from which she never deviates for prayer or any other form of request from weak and ignorant mankind.

Doctor David Rittenhouse Porter, the last survivor of the pioneer physicians of the "City of Kansas" of 1864, died at Kansas City, Missouri, on December 14, 1916. "Nature has her fixed laws from which she never deviates."

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER¹

The report submitted summarizes the activities of the State Historical Society of Missouri for the biennium ending December 31, 1942. A detailed survey of the work done in the first year of the biennium, 1941, was presented at the last annual meeting.

Rank and Membership The Society ranks first in the number of active members among all state historical societies in the United States, a position it reached first during 1934 and 1935 and has held continuously since 1937. The active annual members of the Society numbered 3412 on December 31, 1942, a net gain of 773 members during the past two years. This is the largest gain recorded during a biennium. Of even more significance is the fact that the society stands almost alone in having had a material increase in members during 1942. It is also a matter of note that the Society's membership on December 31, 1942, was nearly double that of its nearest competitor, New York historical association.

The members of the Society for the 1941-1942 biennial period included two honorary members, four life members, one corresponding member, thirteen auxiliary members in addition to the 390 editorial members in Missouri. Besides the annual members in Missouri, there are 477 annual members not residents of Missouri, but scattered over forty-five states, the District of Columbia, the Canal Zone, China, Denmark, England, Germany, Mexico, the Hawaiian islands, Scotland, and the Philippine islands.

The Society also heads the state historical societies of the nation in the circulation of its Missouri historical service published weekly in the newspapers of the State and in the circulation of its quarterly magazine. The Society ranks

¹FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER is the secretary and librarian of the State Historical Society of Missouri as well as the editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*. This report is the report of the secretary on behalf of the executive committee at the annual meeting of the Society, April 12, 1943.

second in the number of printed pages published in quarterly magazine form by state historical societies and first in the volume of documentary material published during the past biennium.

Library The total number of accessions, which includes books, some pamphlets, and bound volumes of newspapers and magazines is at present 70,169, of which 2680 were added during this biennium. In addition, there are some 39,708 separate titles of pamphlets and 137,409 Missouri official publications. This makes a total of 247,286 books, pamphlets, bound magazines, and newspapers in the library.

In addition to the 17,633 bound volumes of newspapers there are 2509 unbound volumes and 151,799 pages on microfilm, which would comprise about 595 yearly volumes. The microfilm collection also includes 91,123 pages of the Missouri population schedules of the Federal census for 1830-1870, inclusive, and an additional 7877 pages of manuscript material.

The manuscript collection includes a total of 133,988 items of private manuscript and State archival material. There are 10,032 photographs, prints, and portraits, and 1636 cuts. In addition to the 2494 bound volumes of magazines and college periodicals, there are current unbound issues in the library to comprise 400 volumes. The Society has a collection of 637 maps, not including highway and geological maps which are included in official state material. The scrap-book collection totals 111.

J. Christian Bay Collection The J. Christian Bay Collection is a unit rare and almost priceless in itself and is kept separate from the Society's regular library. Figures on the size of the library proper, on acquisitions, binding, reproduction, cataloging, etc., do not include the Bay Collection. Since the acquisition of the collection in 1941, forty-seven books, including the rare forty-volume set of Edward S. Curtis' *North American Indian*, and one pamphlet were added by purchase and eight books and twenty-nine pamphlets were given by Doctor Bay. The present size of the collection includes 2074 books, 564 pamphlets and excerpts,

173 manuscript items, 31 separate maps, a royal elephant folio of Audubon's "Passenger Pigeon," and 144 miscellaneous items, or a total of 2987 items.

Until the services of an assistant especially trained in the fields of bibliography and rare books have been obtained, the collection cannot be available for public use. Special rules will then apply to use of the collection. As the items are rare and, in some instances, practically irreplaceable, only scholars doing higher research promising contributions to Missouri and middle western history will be given the privilege of access to the collection. Visitors are and will be invited to inspect the collection and shown unusual items and rich bindings on request.

Newspapers During the biennium, the Society received regularly copies of 386 Missouri newspapers donated by their editors. These came from 278 Missouri towns and represent all 114 Missouri counties and the city of St. Louis. In addition to these current files, thirty-eight bound volumes of Missouri newspapers and approximately 159 unbound volumes were donated.

A total of 847 volumes were bound or rebound during the 1941-1942 biennium. The net increase in bound volumes during the two years was 538, bringing the Society's collection of bound Missouri newspapers to 17,633 volumes. Other acquisitions during the biennium include a total of 29,955 newspaper pages on microfilm. This file is equivalent to 124 yearly volumes of newspapers and, added to the Society's previous total of 471, makes a present total of 595 yearly volumes. The microfilm contains an aggregate of 151,799 newspaper pages. Microfilmed reproductions of partial files of old newspapers of Brunswick, Cape Girardeau, Carthage, Columbia, Franklin, Hannibal, Leavenworth, Kansas, St. Joseph, St. Louis, Springfield, and Unionville were obtained through the courtesy of the newspaper owners.

Reference Service The Society offers authoritative advice and furnishes data on the state's history and activities to all investigators in Missouri history. Through its reference service the Society's collections, indexes, and catalogs are made available to the public. More than six thousand

patrons during the past biennium have used the Society's reading room which is in charge of the reference librarian. More than four thousand readers used the Society's newspaper and photograph collections and many of these consulted with the newspaper librarian or the newspaper index header. Consultation and reference service are also given by the cataloger and the acquisition assistant in the field of Missouri magazines, college periodicals, and State archives.

Citizens may obtain historical information from the Society by letter, telephone, or telegraph. Over three thousand hours of research were required during the biennium to answer the information correspondence alone. Special research problems of a broader nature are also presented to the Society by public organizations and officials. The Society is forced by the size of its staff and by its requests to limit the amount of research to the individual request.

A limited lending library service is available to citizens of the state. Rare and out-of-print books are not included in this loan plan. Missourians also have continued to benefit from the Society's service in copying important notices and items from Missouri newspapers, manuscripts, and books. This service has been especially valuable in recent years in the field of vital statistics. Similar reproduction of photographs and pictures has been available to the State.

**Cataloging, Analytical
Indexing, and Calendaring** As in any library, the State Historical Society's library catalog is one of its most important parts.

At the present time, the catalog consists of 117,979 cards. During the biennium 2066 books and pamphlets were cataloged and 6216 catalog cards were typed and filed for these additions to the library. During the same period 2680 books, pamphlets, and newspapers were accessioned, bringing the total accessions, after deducting withdrawals, to 70,169. Through an extensive system of indexing and calendaring, the Society has also made more accessible its valuable collections. A recent inventory of these indexes shows, exclusive of the library catalog, a total of 669,069 cards, of which 89,576 were added during the biennium. With these indexes and calendars, the public benefit of the library is greatly increased.

The following table gives a brief summary of the volume of work done by the staff of the State Historical Society in the field of cataloging, indexing, and calendaring:

	1941-1942 Increase	Present Total
Catalog cards typed and filed.....	6,216	117,979
Missouri manuscripts arranged and filed.....	586	17,115
Missouri manuscripts calendared.....	586	15,452
Missouri State archives calendared.....		115,180
Missouri Biography clippings index cards.....	145	2,502
<i>Missouri Historical Review</i> index cards.....	4,083	20,668
Missouri newspaper index cards.....	38,861	367,875
<i>Register of Civil Proceedings, 1837-1852</i> , index cards.....		5,365
"This Week in Missouri History" index cards.....		7,429
"Who's Who in Missouri" biographical index cards.....	45,664	230,232
World War I Missouri casualty index cards.....		20,853

Out of a total number of 18,428 private and miscellaneous manuscript items in the Society's library, 15,452 items, or about 83 per cent, have been calendared and all are made available to anyone who wishes to work with them.

The Society's entire collection of State archives, 115,180 items saved from the State capitol fire of 1911, has been filed and calendared. During 1941-1942, a total of 4083 cards were added to the *Missouri Historical Review* index, bringing the total to 20,668 cards.

This Missouri newspaper index has increased rapidly and the Society has five newspaper index card cabinets of sixty trays each in which are filed a total of 367,875 cards of which 38,861 were added during 1941-1942. A total of 75,222 headings were made to newspaper index references during this biennium. The indexing of the *Liberty Weekly Tribune* was completed through January 1869, and 33,668 cards were typed and added to the index file. Indexing of the *Missouri Argus* was completed through December 1840 and 4975 cards have been typed and filed. Additional work has been done on the *Columbia Patriot*. A total of 21,585 index headings were made for the files of the *Missouri Statesman* from January 1843

through May 1849. The index to biographical sketches of Missouri men and women found in books of history and biography, known as "Who's Who in Missouri," continued to grow. The addition of 45,664 cards to the biographical index during 1941-1942 brings the total at present to 230,232 references.

Acquisitions and Binding All of the additions to the Society's collections are classified under the general head of "acquisitions." They are acquired by purchase, by exchange with other institutions or organizations, by gift, by deposit, or under provision of law. All of the additions of the Society save newspapers, photographs, and cuts are made by the catalog and acquisition department of the Society; the groups excepted are handled by the newspaper department. During the biennium, over twenty thousand items have been handled by these departments, exclusive of regularly received current newspapers, periodicals, and serials.

During 1941-1942 the Society acquired by law 3460 books, 13,041 pamphlets, 398 maps, by exchange 53 books and 73 pamphlets, by gift 722 books and 131 pamphlets, and by purchase 354 books and 934 pamphlets, a total of 4589 books and 14,179 pamphlets. It also received 613 volumes of historical record survey publications of the works progress administration together with 23 pieces of music and 4 scrapbooks.

The Society received regularly issues of eighty-eight different Missouri magazines and of fifty-eight different college periodicals, making a total of 146 different Missouri serial publications. The total number of bound volumes of Missouri magazines and college periodicals in the library is 2494 of which 164 were bound during this biennium. Ten bound volumes were donated as well. The current unbound issues in the Society's collections comprise approximately 400 volumes. The collection consists of 645 different publications received from sixty Missouri towns and cities representing forty-three counties and the city of St. Louis.

The Society acquired 586 private manuscript items bringing the total collection to 18,428. Eight record books were withdrawn leaving the Society's manuscript collection of record books at a total of 380 volumes comprising 80,308

pages. Also added to the manuscript collection during the biennium were 797 pages of manuscript on microfilm bringing the total on microfilm to 7877 pages. The Society's total addition of maps during the biennium was 455 consisting largely of those obtained by law.

A total of 3041 portraits, photographs, pictures, engravings, etchings, and cuts were received of which 1418 photographs were donated. Notable among donations were the three portraits of Mark Twain, Frank P. Blair, and James B. Eads, painted by Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre and presented to the Society by the artist, who is a trustee of the Society.

During the biennium 1965 books were bound, more than have ever been bound during the preceding biennium in the Society's history, and more than twice as many as were bound during any of these bienniums with only two exceptions. Of the total of 1965 books bound 1001 were bound for the first time and 964 were rebound. The number of volumes in the Society's collection which need to be bound is estimated as 530. The estimated number of volumes which need to be rebound is 1450.

The Society also had 847 volumes of newspapers bound. Approximately 2500 volumes of current newspapers are at present, for financial reasons, still unbound. These have been placed in cardboard storage boxes for temporary protection.

The following table illustrates the binding done during 1941-1942:

Classes of Binding	Bound	Rebound
Books.....	665	886
Historical periodicals (other states).....	172	70
Missouri magazines and college periodicals.....	164	8
Missouri newspapers.....	324	523
Total number of volumes.....	1,325	1,487
Grand total.....		2,812

Marked progress was also made in photostating early territorial and state laws of Missouri for use by the public to insure preservation of the originals.

Publications and Research The publication program of this biennium has shown the results of previous careful planning and has become the outstanding feature of the Society's functions. Documentary material, historical contributions, and feature articles with a wide popular appeal have been published in order to reach the interests of all Missourians.

To facilitate this program, the department of publications and research, which was so auspiciously inaugurated four years ago, has continued to develop. The department is composed of the copy editor and three research associates.

The sections in the *Missouri Historical Review* devoted to "Missouri and the War," "Missouriana," "Historical Notes and Comments," and "Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks," are compiled entirely by the staff of the Society. Time and care are given to the preparation of copy and especially of footnote references in editing the *Debates* and the main articles in the *Review*. In the preparation of *Missouri, Day by Day*, extensive work was done in collecting data, preparing bibliographies, checking, correcting, writing, and editing. The weekly historical feature articles involve continuous research and historical writing to present scholarly contributions with popular appeal. During the biennium, more than five thousand pages of typed copy for these publications by the Society were checked and edited meticulously.

The *Review* has the largest circulation of any state historical magazine in America. It has a classification among the foremost historical magazines in America. A new feature was inaugurated with the issue of January 1942. The entire appearance of the magazine was changed by the use of an attractive, illustrated cover, on which appears a historical subject drawn by a contemporary artist. Illustrations, similar to the cover, appear through the magazine. From 1906 through the October issue in 1942, a total of 17,095 printed pages have appeared. By publishing selective scholarly monographs in its magazine, the Society has fostered research among Missouri

scholars and made accessible an interpretive review of Missouri's past.

The Society's present weekly feature articles grew out of "This Week in Missouri History" begun in February 1925, which was the oldest and most widely circulated service of its kind in the United States. On November 2, 1941, the new series was begun. Written in news feature style which the Society introduced for the popularizing of history, they have drawn favorable comment and appear in newspapers in St. Louis and 103 of Missouri's 114 counties. No other service is doing more to stimulate popular interest in Missouri history.

To make the historical research first published in "This Week in Missouri History" available both to the layman and the scholar and to give it permanent form, the Society published the first volume of a two-volume work entitled *Missouri, Day by Day*. The first volume, just released from the press, covers the period from January 1 to June 30; volume two, which will be published in 1943, will complete the year in Missouri history. Volume one of 446 pages contains 423 articles and 47 paragraph items following the full-length articles. Both volumes contain indexes, of which the first contains seventeen pages.

The purpose of *Missouri, Day by Day* is to furnish a handbook on the chronicle of Missouri history for the schoolboy and the general reader. The two volumes contain concise and compact sketches of the outstanding persons and significant events of Missouri history arranged chronologically by days of the month. Although the original weekly series furnished the foundation for the work, the coverage of a weekly chronicle did not seem adequate and additional material was added to furnish a day by day review of Missouri. All available sources were searched for missing events and biographies and extensive efforts were made to cover every important aspect, phase, and personality of Missouri history.

Missouri, Day by Day, the weekly historical feature articles, and the *Missouri Historical Review* comprise the popular publication program of the State Historical Society. This program has a larger coverage than any similar program in

the nation. Its influence as an educational cultural force is inestimable.

Volumes VIII and IX of the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* edited by Doctor Isidor Loeb and the secretary were published during the biennium. Three additional volumes yet to be published will complete the series. As a result of these publications, Missouri will find herself better prepared for the forthcoming constitutional convention. The complete *Journal* and nine of twelve volumes of the *Debates* are available in a usable form for the members of the convention and will be useful in interpreting and revising the existing constitution.

Library Staff The staff of the Society as of December 31, 1942, includes thirteen persons. This is the same number that was on the staff during the previous biennium.

MISSOURI AND THE WAR**PART IV**BY JULIET M. GROSS¹

This summer Missourians are working harder than they have ever worked—fighting harder than they have ever fought. After more than a year and a half of war, the people of Missouri are cheerfully getting along on a restricted diet and on fewer luxuries than they had thought possible.

The people of Missouri are now doling out red ration stamps for welcome cuts of meat, blue stamps for canned foods, and white stamps for sugar, coffee, and shoes. For most Missourians patriotism does not stop with the red, white, and blue of their ration stamps. They collect scrap, buy war bonds with every spare cent they can find, grow vegetables for their tables, and shoulder the burden of civilian defense.

MISSOURI'S FIGHTING HEROES

Soldiers and sailors dreamed of Missouri homes on every battle front around the world. In the biggest fight, they are showing the world that Missouri men are willing to give everything to win this war.

Two Missourians were part of the greatest aerial combat recorded in three years of fighting in North Africa. The fifty-seventh fighter group of the American air forces swept toward Cape Bon in Tunisia. Native Missourians in the group were the fifty-seventh's commander, Colonel Arthur Salisbury of Sedalia, and Lieutenant R. J. (Rocky) Byrne of St. Louis.

Lieutenant Byrne was the first Warhawk pilot to land on an advanced field in Tunisia after fifty-eight German transport planes and sixteen Messerschmit fighters fell under the guns of the fifty-seventh. Byrne has been awarded the purple heart, the air medal and the distinguished flying cross since January.

¹JULIET M. GROSS, native Arkansan, graduated from the school of journalism of Missouri University in 1940. She is now a research associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Another St. Louis pilot, Lieutenant Anthony Sgroi, returned last April after seven months of combat flying in European and African war theaters. During this time he received the distinguished flying cross, the air medal, and three oak leaf clusters.

After a little more than a year and a half of combat flying, many Missourians have earned two, three, and four medals for outstanding courage and flying skill. It would be far too ambitious an attempt to try to list their names or recount their daring exploits on the land, in the air, and on the sea.

Lieutenant Arthur O. Beimdiek, Jr. of Webster Groves, a tall, loose-jointed pilot whose plane had more shell holes than any other in his group, landed in North Africa the day after the initial invasion. He has been awarded the air medal with two oak leaf clusters for participating in more than thirty sorties in enemy territory.

Two airmen from St. Louis took part in the transportation of troops by plane from England to North Africa. Captain James T. Blair, Jr., Jefferson City attorney and former Democratic floor leader in the Missouri house of representatives, and Lieutenant Robert E. Grierson won air medals for their part in the longest mass, unescorted, nonstop troop carrier flight ever performed successfully.

Colonel Roy H. Parker, a native son of Hickory, Missouri, in Grundy county, who served as a chaplain during the first World war, serves now as senior chaplain attached to the staff of General Dwight D. Eisenhower in North Africa.

Rather than return empty-handed when the other plane on the mission shot up an Italian command post so completely there remained no target to strafe, Lieutenant William F. Merrigan of Clyde, Missouri, dropped to an altitude of fourteen feet, dipped his wing, and tore out the Italians' communication system. He flew back to his base trailing long pieces of copper wire.

Major E. Lansing Ray, Jr., of St. Louis reported the dramatic torpedoing of a troopship en route to Africa and the subsequent rescue of the ship's company by destroyers. From notes scribbled aboard one of the destroyers, Major Ray described the explosion of the torpedo, the fire that followed,

and emphasized the heroism of army nurses who cared for the wounded in the lifeboats. Major Ray was secretary of the Globe-Democrat Publishing company before he entered the army as a reserve officer two days before Pearl Harbor.

War correspondents from Missouri have reported from all major world battle fronts. On the Tunisian front, Harold V. Boyle, associated press correspondent and a native of Kansas City, reported the retreat of Marshal Rommel. Frank L. Martin, Jr., son of the late dean of Missouri's school of journalism, moved from North Africa to India for the associated press late in March.

Lieutenant Nick Carter of Nevada, Missouri, found a lucky trip as an armed guard in a convoy "no fun." "Nothing ever happened on our ship," Lieutenant Carter reported. Ships on which he served moved over a large oil slick left by a victim of an earlier sub attack, missed a mine by thirty feet, entered a harbor supposedly free of mines. The day after the anchorage in the "mine-less" harbor, Carter saw a British ship drop anchor directly into a mine and sink immediately.

As in other theaters of war, American heroes in the Pacific zone are doing more than their duty, doing their jobs a little better than the enemy does his. And many of those heroes are Missourians.

Outstanding is the story of Lieutenant Seymour Brown, a St. Louis physician who worked five days and nights during the battle of Guadalcanal without rest. So, too, is the tale of Lieutenant Herbert Richard Kabat's six-hour struggle with a shark between Savo island and Guadalcanal. Lieutenant Kabat, also of St. Louis, commanded a ship which had to be abandoned during the battle in that area.

"The shark would come in for a nip at me, I'd kick at it or strike at it with my fists and it would move away, circle and come at me from another direction," Kabat said. His comrades were unable to aid their commander, but later in the day a rescue ship took Lieutenant Kabat to a hospital ship, where the gashes that covered his body were treated.

After two years in the Pacific war zone, Robert C. O'Connor, naval aviation ordnanceman, first class—a veteran of Pearl Harbor, Midway, and Guadalcanal, came home to Missouri in March with a citation from Admiral W. F. Halsey for his skillful and efficient action as bombardier in attacks on an enemy submarine, a large Japanese convoy which was trying to reinforce Guadalcanal, and upon a Japanese heavy cruiser.

According to Sergeant Thomas H. Matkin, Jr., of the Marine corps and a native of Kansas City, the Guadalcanal battle was a "matter of beating the Japs at their own game of stealthy jungle warfare."

Seabee Petty Officer William McKinley Volland of St. Louis saw three months of action on Guadalcanal, during which he once goaded twenty-six Japanese soldiers into exposing themselves to his fire. "And then," Volland stated, "I gave them a burst from my tommy gun. That was the end of all 26 of them."

Another St. Louis seabee, Chief Petty Officer Charles Henry Knorr, who gave up a plumbing business to join the navy's construction battalion, celebrated last New Year's eve by riding along on a bombing mission and dropping two bombs on Japanese installations at Munda bay, New Georgia island, in the Solomons. Knorr rode as an observer, but leaped at the chance to release half the plane's bomb-load on the Japs.

Three young American airmen spent ten months in a tropical jungle after their plane crashed on a Rabaul bombing mission. Radioman Private Dale E. Bordner of Chillicothe, Missouri, was one of the three. He lost fifteen pounds as he fought months of repeated sickness, wounds suffered in the crash, and grubbing for food in jungles the natives found hardly productive enough for life. For weeks the three managed to stay just a hop ahead of the Japanese—and one morning they ate breakfast just across a stream from a Japanese encampment. Their breakfast that morning was Japanese food they had taken from a ship bombed by Flying Fortresses.

Seaman Second Class Edward Fry, of Barnhart and St. Louis, was thrown into the Pacific when a Jap salvo hit the

superstructure of his ship, the cruiser Astoria. Wounded, he started swimming. Part of his arm was gone.

"In the darkness I found a raft, but as I attempted to climb on a man kicked me. I said, 'Hey, buddy, I just want to climb aboard, and got my answer in Japanese. . . . I found my knife strapped to my hip and drew it as I made a lunge which threw me on the raft. With shells whistling overhead we struggled in the dark for possession of it until I finally managed to stab him."

Fry was taken back aboard the Astoria, then was transferred to a destroyer as the cruiser sank. He regained consciousness seven days later in a navy hospital in the South Pacific. The first American to give the alarm when the Astoria was ambushed by Jap task forces was another Missourian, Corporal Harold E. Duckworth, a St. Louis Marine.

The "Last Man Off Wake Island" was flown to Midway by a Kansas City naval pilot—Lieutenant James J. Murphy. The passenger was Lieutenant Colonel Walter L. J. Bayler, a marine radio engineer who reported the defense of Wake in three *Saturday Evening Post* articles in April.

In southern China Captain Robert Liles of Jefferson City fighting under General Claire L. Chennault, led a flight that strafed the Japanese commander's compound at Techekam, and another of Chennault's men whose record is one of the best is Colonel William Edwin Basye of Independence.

Thrice-torpedoed Navy Fireman Robert Becker of Webster Groves says he is now "three times as mad" at the enemy as he used to be. Becker lost all his possessions the first time a Nazi torpedo sunk his ship. The third time, he was scalded by hot water and suffered internal injuries which hospitalized him for two months. Worst of all, his pay for many months went down with the ships' books, and it would be some time before the records could be justified and he could collect his back pay.

Commander of the United States submarine fleet in the Atlantic is Rear Admiral Freeland Allen Daubin, a native of Lamar, Missouri. Admiral Daubin spent twelve years in

submarine service after his graduation from the naval academy in 1909, transferred to destroyers and battleships for a short time, but soon returned to his first love. He commanded the American submarine base at Pearl Harbor when the Japanese struck there in December 1941. No subs were lost in that attack.

Eleven years with the Marines plus more years of flying survey routes for Pan-American airways in Central and South America have kept Major Edward G. Schultz away from his native Maryville, Missouri, for a long time. Major Schultz flies now with the South Atlantic wing of the air transport command, hoping to sight a U-boat.

MISSOURIANS TIGHTEN THEIR BELTS

As meat counters became increasingly bare through the late weeks of March, Missourians who listened to their radios Sunday afternoon, March 21, heard a terse bulletin from Washington which told them that OPA Administrator Prentiss Brown had ordered the freezing of butter, lard, and other edible fats for the ensuing week.

"Retail sales will resume Monday morning, March 29, when actual rationing begins," the announcement continued. Consumers had known for a week that they would begin using the red stamps in their ration books for meats, cheeses, and fats the last half-week in March, but the butter freeze was a surprise to most. During the last week preceding the actual rationing, the supply of meat in stores throughout Missouri dwindled even more rapidly as consumers stocked up against the lean days they knew would follow, until, during the latter part of the week, long lines of customers clamoring for service at the markets were not an uncommon sight.

Wednesday of that week—March 24—brought the news that revealed point values, and the number of points each person could spend each week. Most popular cuts of meats were scheduled at eight points per pound, as was butter. Each consumer would be allowed sixteen ration points a week. He could buy about two pounds of steak with those points, or three pounds of hamburger, or two and one-half pounds of leg-of-lamb.

Lamb, beef, veal, and pork headed the rationed list, which also included tinned or glassed meats and fish, natural cheeses, butter, lard, margarine, and cooking oils.

Missourians took it in their stride, and bargained for boneless, fatless cuts as they never had before. Shark meat had gone on sale in St. Louis March 23, when 75% of the markets operated by the 450 members of the St. Louis Retail Meat Dealers' association were either without meat or had only a small part of their normal supply on hand. The shark meat, sold as a substitute for halibut, salmon, and black cod, reached St. Louis fresh for sale at about 45 cents a pound.

Housewives who entered markets the first day of rationing found meat counters much better supplied than they had been for many weeks, and found the slight confusion of spending and taking change in red ration stamps much less irritating than the trouble they had formerly had in finding meat anywhere.

The new rationing was less difficult for families, where all the points could be pooled, than for people who prepared single meals for themselves, or for childless married couples.

The blow was also softened in great measure by a sharp reduction in the number of blue ration stamps necessary to buy many dried fruits, fruit and vegetable juices, and dehydrated soups. Rationing was working. Equitable distribution of the supply available had made it possible for more people to get a better choice of a variety of foods that had been much scarcer before rationing.

"Spotty" was the word some newspapers applied to the supply of meat in the stores during the first week of meat rationing, but ensuing weeks saw the supply crawl back toward normal, and the variety increase in a heartening manner. Still, meat dealers were not without their troubles.

Within a week, they saw their pork chops and round steak moving along well, but lunch meat and chili, along with fatty and bony cuts, were staying too long on meat counters. Some meat dealers complained that they had to hire extra help to sort and count coupons, while others sought to have point values lowered on some cuts, raised on others. Too much waste in fat and bones caused lamb to be snubbed.

Housewives nagged butchers to cut off all fat and take out bones—and the butchers were unhappy because they had to pay for those trimmings, both in money and stamps.

The latter weeks in April saw most Missourians settling down, losing no weight on their ration-adjusted diets. Some drug stores discontinued soda fountains and lunch counter service. Men and women who ate "downtown" at noon found smaller steaks on their plates but ordered heavier luncheons, and here and there a restaurant closed for lack of points. "No Points, No Steaks. Closed until dinner May 1," advertised one Columbia dining room.

War shortages and rationing brought Missourians other problems than those connected with food. Governors of five midwestern states, along with officials of utility regulatory bodies, city officials, and representatives of coal, oil, and gas industries met in Kansas City early in April to discuss the fuel and transportation situation. The OPA prohibited the issuance of extra gasoline rations for driving to and from summer homes, and for vacations. Amateur photographers waited four days to a week to have pictures processed where they had waited only a day last year, and often found it nearly impossible to replace their supply of films from depleted camera shop inventories.

A shortage of manpower, machinery, and materials also slowed laundry service, and made it necessary for users of laundries to have a greater supply of clothes on hand, to carry them through the week to ten days it took to get the laundry back.

Milk prices climbed a cent in Kansas City and some other parts of Missouri early in March and the rise in costs of many other foods continued. The rate of increase in the cost of living rose 23.3 between September 1939 and March of this year.

On April 5 the office of price administration set specific retail ceilings on beef and mutton as it had previously set ceilings on many other "cost of living" goods and some fresh vegetables. But not-large heads of lettuce sold for as high as two for 39 cents in some Missouri stores.

Housing problems did not decrease this spring as Missouri stepped up its effort to win the war sooner. Many houses and apartments in the State were vacant; but they were not in areas where war plants and army camps had increased populations.

Civilian and military officials conferred almost continually in St. Louis and Kansas City, seeking answers to the widely varied problems attendant to an influx of new residents into areas producing war materials and training men for war. Dormitory apartments seemed to be one answer, and work was under way on some of them in the State.

The army had taken over hotels, not only in Kansas City and St. Louis, but in many of the smaller cities. USO clubs listed private homes where week-ending soldiers might stay; but many travelers were turned away from hotels whose facilities were simply not sufficient to meet the demand for rooms.

More Missourians than ever before broke ground for home gardens this spring. White-collar workers who had never spaded before limped into offices complaining of sore backs after having broken ground for tiny back-yard gardens. Odd-job men found the spading business rushing. Community and neighborhood groups turned vacant lots into co-operative gardens. Real estate companies allotted parts of their properties to ambitious city gardeners who had no ground.

School children dug tiny plots in school yards and in sections "leased" to them without charge by churches. The American Legion helped recruit workers for truck gardeners.

Unseasonal cold weather and a lack of rain in many parts of the State in early spring decreased the productivity of some early gardeners. Many tyros who put in tomatoes or beans too early lost them in mid-April frosts. Others had to unlimber the old lawn hose much earlier than usual to save dry gardens, but late April rains saved most vegetables—and blue ration stamps.

Organized tin-can collections continued in many Missouri cities. Women were now learning to flatten the cans more efficiently, and with less wear and tear on their precious shoes.

Missouri kitchens turned out another terribly important material of war as housewives saved tiny drippings of waste fat that accumulated in wide-mouthed containers until there was enough to sell to the butcher. Butchers passed it on—and those drippings were on their way to make explosives to blast the axis.

Alfred Greubel, Jr., 13-year-old pupil in the Lemay, Missouri assumption grade school, ranked high in his class, and won the privilege of writing a letter to General Eisenhower in North Africa. Alfred was a proud young fellow when the general's reply, dated March 12, told that the thing our soldiers depend upon more than any other was the knowledge that their work, risks, and sacrifices are not only appreciated by the people at home but are supported in every way.

A 6-year-old in Kansas City had a big time when he followed army officers and returned the salutes of grinning soldiers and sailors he met. Unknown to the officers he followed, every time the officers returned the salute of enlisted men, the youthful "general" in semi-military dress also returned the greeting.

Civilians who still have tires meet other troubles in keeping their cars on the road. Surveys indicate a shortage of both labor and certain repair parts in Kansas City. To help the shortage of skilled mechanics, some women have been trained for maintenance work in a few shops.

The amateur faucet-fixier, the handy-man-about-the-house, who prided himself on his mechanical ability, can really show his stuff now—not only in his own home, but in the whole neighborhood. And if there are no men in your neighborhood, some women have long been known for their ability to fix anything with a hairpin. Some can go farther than that. The safety council of Kansas City has started a school to teach them how to make home electrical repairs.

MISSOURI WOMEN IN THE WAR

Missouri women continued to go to war during their second wartime spring. Miss Vivian Francher of Iberia and

St. Louis received the congratulations of Mayor William Dee Becker of St. Louis when she became the one thousandth WAAC recruit from that city.

Women packed ammunition for the front lines in arms plants in Missouri, drove mill tractors, worked at assembling bombers in aircraft factories. More and more jobs formerly allotted to men fell to women whose men had gone to the fighting fronts.

Hospitals all over the state continued to train nurses' aides to relieve their short staffs. Women rolled bandages and knitted sweaters. Women trained in civilian defense.

Several Missouri members of the WAACs have been serving in North Africa for several months, and Miss Elizabeth Hitchcock, Red Cross staff assistant, arrived in that war theater late in March. Newspapers all over the nation carried pictures during the first week in April of flying nurse Lieutenant Julia Corinne Riley of Kahoka, Missouri, in Africa. Lieutenant Riley's job is the care of wounded fighters as they are evacuated by air from Tunisian battlefronts.

The war department listed Second Lieutenant Minnie L. Breese of Richmond Heights, Missouri, as a prisoner of the Japanese in the Philippines. A member of the army nurse corps for the past six years, Lieutenant Breese served at Fort Riley, Kansas, before going abroad. Her mother, Mrs. Amelia B. Breese, had received no word from her since early in 1942.

Mrs. Elizabeth Woo, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Hart of Kansas City, cabled her parents from Shanghai pleading for help in expediting the evacuation of herself and her 6-year-old son from the Jap-held area.

Mrs. Woo, a journalism graduate of the University of Missouri, married the son of a Chinese industrialist while both were in school in Columbia in 1935.

The Mothers' Cake club of Kansas City is made up of Kansas City housewives who bake a cake a month for the servicemen's club. At Fort Leonard Wood, the new USO club was dedicated last April with a dance for soldiers of that area.

Women of Missouri played a major role in the 1943 membership drive of the American Red Cross. Mrs. Adah Ashley, a teacher in the rural Kenner school near Lebanon, walked 100 miles to visit every farm home in her district to solicit Red Cross funds.

Women drove mobile units of the Red Cross to collect blood to save lives of fighting men. Volunteer donors in the Kansas City area alone contributed more than 2000 pints of blood in just one week.

Months of effort by the Red Cross finally brought to Mrs. Chandler Jones of Kansas City the news that her brother, Private Jack Smith, a 27-year-old marine, is still alive. Now a prisoner of the Japanese, he had been reported missing since the fall of Manila.

SIDELIGHTS OF THE WAR IN MISSOURI

A draftee from St. Louis scored 160 out of a possible 163 points on the army's general classification test—the highest score on record at Jefferson Barracks reception center—when he was inducted March 12. He was Alfred Edward Kelsch, a former postal clerk.

Edward Tegethoff of University City rode 625 miles on a motor scooter through rough weather from Tennessee to St. Louis so that he could register there for selective service on his eighteenth birthday. Soldiers at Fort Leonard Wood, near Rolla, penetrated lines of tangled barbed wire and crawled through ditches with real bullets whistling over their heads to storm a "Nazi village" as a concluding feature of graduation exercises at the Fort.

Sixty-five foreign-born Camp Crowder, Missouri, soldiers were administered the oath of allegiance to the United States at a special term of Newton county circuit court at the post fieldhouse. It was the first session of a state court held at Camp Crowder, and military officers believed it the first such court term ever held on a military post.

Army air force trainees in pre-flight school at the University of Missouri began classes in the university early in the

spring and took to the air in April for their ten hours of elementary flying, while the army radio school grew from 261 to 4886 soldier-students in Kansas City in the year following April 1, 1942.

A Kansas City unit, the second battalion of the third Missouri infantry (of the Missouri Guard) went on maneuvers in April, preliminary to regimental maneuvers which will be held in the fall. The group took into the field portable telephone equipment for facilitating reports.

Colonel Felix Hardison of Springfield, Missouri, brought his famous Flying Fortress, the *Suzy Q*, home to Springfield early in April. Called the "fightingest Flying Fortress," the bomber started from the west coast in January, 1942, and flew to the Pacific war theater by way of the Atlantic ocean, Africa, and India.

The first bomb dropped from the ship sank a Jap vessel in the battle of Java. The bomber won her reputation by bringing home safely all of the crew members from all raids. Two of the original crew members of the *Suzy Q* accompanied Colonel Hardison.

When the family of L. W. James, Jr., had not heard from him in London for several months, his grandfather, J. E. Martin of Kansas City, wrote to the Queen of England, asking her for word of his grandson. Mr. Martin received a prompt answer from Buckingham palace, assuring him of James's good health.

Part of the recreational program of coast guardsmen stationed on the Missouri river at Kansas City is the operation of a one-acre garden at their base. The guardsmen mix hoeing, raking, and planting with their river duties—incidentally the plot will produce vegetables.

Susan Fawcett, 16-year-old junior in the high school of the School of the Ozarks, purchased \$1000 in war bonds with money she saved from her earnings delivering milk for her father before and after school for a number of years. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Fawcett of Point Lookout, Missouri, Susan has saved the money to secure her college education. She could have found no safer place to put it than in her loan

to the government to purchase a reconnaissance car for Missouri fighting men.

The drive for "More Knives for the Marines," suggested by a radio plea Kay Kyser made for fighting men on Guadalcanal, yielded more than 500 blades in Kansas City. Most of the models were those used by hunters and fishermen, but some throwing knives with curved blades, and some bayonets from other wars were included.

Edward H. Case of Jefferson City, retired army captain, couldn't get back into the army after Pearl Harbor because of his age. His disappointment was not discouragement, however. He works every day now as a tool inspector in a cartridge plant in St. Louis, and every dollar of his earnings go into war bonds.

MISSOURIANA

- Business and Life in St. Louis, Missouri, as Revealed in Letters of
North Carolina Immigrants**
Fourth of July Hi-Jinks
The Nightriders in Missouri
Missouri Miniatures—Phoebe Couzins, James Carson Jamison
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri
Missouri Scrapbook
-

**BUSINESS AND LIFE IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, 1847-1848 AS
REVEALED IN LETTERS OF NORTH CAROLINA IMMIGRANTS**

BY LEWIS E. ATHERTON¹

The four letters here included represent the reactions of two Salisbury, North Carolina, business men to conditions which they found in their newly adopted state of Missouri. Because they were recent immigrants they recorded observations which letter writers of longer residence in the State would not have thought to make. Economic, social, and political conditions called for comment. The letters demonstrate that business men succumbed to the appeal of westward migration in the same manner as hunters and farmers, although they frequently moved farther west only after others had established residence there. The multiplicity of reasons for migration to the westward are also indicated in the correspondence. Professional men, hotel keepers, merchants, and ne'er-do-wells alike were interested in the West.

The letters were written to John W. Ellis, a lawyer and leader in the Democratic party at Salisbury, North Carolina. Ellis was a young man in his late twenties at the time. His father had possessed considerable property and was able to send the son to Randolph-Macon college in Virginia and then

¹LEWIS E. ATHERTON, native Missourian, is an associate professor of history at the University of Missouri. The above excerpts are from letters in the John W. Ellis papers, 1842-1861, in the Southern Historical collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, N. C. A Guggenheim fellowship for the academic year 1941-1942 for a study of the southern ante-bellum store and additional aid from the University of Missouri Research council made it possible for Professor Atherton to examine economic material available in southern libraries.

to the University of North Carolina. After reading law with a local Salisbury attorney, he opened practice and made rapid progress in Salisbury due to his ability and ambition. At the age of 28, he was elected a judge of the supreme court, having previously been a representative in the state legislature. In 1858 he was elected governor, dying in office July 11, 1861.

His election as judge in 1848 apparently ended his plans for migration to Missouri. In the fall of 1846 Ellis advertised his lands, slaves, and other property for sale in the Salisbury paper, offering the explanation that he planned to leave North Carolina. His career proved his ability and perhaps only his election to the judgeship in 1848 prevented him from migrating to Missouri.

James L. Cowan was a descendant of a well known Scotch-Irish family which settled in North Carolina in the eighteenth century. For some time preceding his removal to St. Louis he owned the Rowan hotel, which he attempted to dispose of at private sale before migrating to Missouri. An advertisement for this purpose ran for some six months in the early part of 1846, but Cowan apparently disposed of the hotel at auction on January 1, 1847. He apparently took an active part in local politics, serving as a delegate to a Whig convention in May of 1847, shortly before his removal to St. Louis. His activities and property at Salisbury show him to have been a prosperous and respected business man.

Francis Richard Roueche was born at Angest, France in 1814 and migrated to the United States at the age of 16. He lived with his brother John Roueche, a New York city store-keeper, until he became of age. The two brothers moved to Lincolnton, North Carolina in 1836 and operated a general store for two years. In 1838 they transferred their activities to Salisbury where they continued as partners until 1842 when John moved to St. Louis. John's description of the opportunities available in Missouri seems to have been the chief factor in causing Francis to move to St. Louis in 1847. Only his wife's delicate health delayed the move for some years.

From 1838 to 1846, F. R. Roueche, he generally signed his advertising in the local paper "F. R. Roueche," operated a confectionary at Salisbury. In the early years of his activity

at Salisbury he employed such terms as "restauranteur" and "coffee house" and attempted to convince the public that his French origin made his "eatables and drinkables" more exotic than those for sale in other confectionaries. Confectionaries were common in the ante-bellum period and were comparable to the modern delicatessen. Luxury groceries, fine wines and liquors, pastries, and occasionally a soda fountain were common attributes of such establishments.

By 1844 Roueche was operating two establishments, the "Salisbury Confectionary and Bakery" and the "Salisbury Grocery and Confectionary," where he sold a range of goods, such as fine English cheese, lemons, China toys, anis seeds, wines and liquors, lemon syrup, fancy snuff boxes, fish hooks and lines, and fiddle strings.

Roueche acquired property during his stay at Salisbury and was reasonably prosperous. Since he had planned to go to St. Louis for a number of years, he was able to let his stock of merchandise decline to a point where he apparently was able to dispose of it at private sale before starting the journey.

A severe attack of malaria and other complications after his arrival at St. Louis made it difficult for him to handle his business. A doctor suggested a warmer climate, and the Roueches moved to Dalton, Georgia, in 1848, after a stay of only a little more than a year in Missouri. In 1859 the family returned to Salisbury North Carolina, where Roueche died in 1861.

The spelling has been preserved in the letters except for an occasional change in the interest of clarity.

I. Letter of James L. Cowan to John W. Ellis at Salisbury, North Carolina.

St Louis Mo. 25 July 1847

My Dear Sir

I suppose an apology is due in the outset for not having written sooner. Your kind letter came to hand some ten days ago, would have answered it sooner, and even written you previous to my receiving it, but for reasons which I need not mention—I am rejoiced to find you are still anxious to come to this place, which I think is the very place for you. I have been making an effort to make the arrangement you desired with

some of the *Presses here*, but have done nothing definite as yet. Such an arrangement is hard to effect, without the person being here himself. They all say there is no doubt you can succeed (with the recommendations I assured them you could come with) provided you were here. So far as I am capable of judging, and advising, would urge you to come immediately, bring Documents (ie) letters from the right sort of men of both Parties, and I have no hesitation in saying you can flourish, every thing here with a stranger depends upon his recommendations, and references, in your case you could have them endorsed by some very prominent men in the city, which is a double advantage,—My impression is you could very soon do well at the *Bar* there is every advantage here to bring a man of your turn and genius into notice, large meetings of some sort every few days, and always an opportunity for Speechifying, which I understand brings a public man into notice very soon. You can live here for very little more than it costs you in Salisbury, or taking every thing into consideration, I doubt not but that you can live quite as cheap. It will cost you about Sixty Dollars to come here, two or three hundred Dollars, after you get here will support you for one year. The Editors here generally employ several in there offices, some two reporters, which they generally pay about five Hundred Dollars, generally one or two assistant Editors or writers, at salarys from Eight hundred to a Thousand Dollars. There are Eleven Papers, printed here, some two or three of which are German, probably one French, one Native American, but one Democratic office, the *Union*. It however issues some four different papers—ballance Whig—except two which are neutral in regard to Politics. The vote here I understand is about as follows viz, Democrats, about 24 to 2700. Native Americans about 1400, Whigs about 900. They have a number more courts here than in Carolina, always some court in session, very often two, about one Hundred Lawyers attend the Bar here, which with their *Judges*, do not surpass, or scarcely equal the *Bar* at Salisbury, there is very little Talent here compared with the importance of the place.—

This place now numbers in population considerable over fifty Thousand, the increase is about Six Thousand pr annum, number of buildings annually erected about two Thousand some of which are splendid edifices,—Climate rather changeable, diseases, principally chills & fever, Bilious Fever, some conjunctive,—Diorhea in the winter among children. Our river but seldom closes at all, when it does, lasts from 4 to six weeks,—The number of steam Packets, running above the city, on the Miss [Mississippi] Missouri, & Illinois rivers are from Seventy to 80. Those running below, in the New Orleans & Ohio river trade, about the same, say 80 independent of the flat bottom Boats both above and below, & rafts, which are almost innumerable. We had quite a show yesterday Launching two steamers, built here, one which is the largest ever built west of the Alleghanies. This is a great city, and the country round about it. Farmers all make Fortunes, common cropping is 100 bush corn pr acre, 60 bush wheat,

500 bus onions, 500 bus potatoes, oats and other articles in proportion. Our church bells are beginning to call for sinners, which reminds me of the number of churches, about thirty, some very splendid, Catholics rather most numerous, though all denominations, get a pretty good share of patronage—

I have finally gone into business in a small way in order to make an experiment. We put a thousand Dollars, into the Dry Goods, & [silk?] trade, and I think we will be able to sell from ten to fourteen thousand dollars worth of goods on that amt, buy for cash principally at [auction?]. I shall lay out about a Thousand Dollars *wood*. I can buy now for three to three & half dollars pr cord, in the winter it sells from six to Eight Dollars pr cord—

All I ask here is health and ordinary degree of Luck, to make money. My plan upon the whole I think best, not to overreach myself, and keep out of debt. My expenses are very small after paying rent. I pay (\$416-) as rent for store & dwelling House, our dwelling is quite comfortable, being immediately above the store, on the corner of Franklin Avenue & fifth street, where you may be met with a warm an heary repection, when you arrive in this place, I wrote to Bob Long a few days ago, urging him to come. I think you had better get ready immediately and come out together this is the Dull season here. Fall trade will commence in Septemr. (usually four months dull in the year) viz July, Augt, Dec. & Jany, with the exception of those months business is done up here in a hurry, and during the last Spring Season by many to much profit— Several houses here have made large fortunes this year trading in produce. . . .

Our city is crow[d]ed all the while with Soldiers, departing for the seat of war and others returning to their homes, in this country they never make the second Tour—. . . .

. . . Mr. A. C. Lindsey . . . swindled me out of the pittiful sum of five Dollars. Borrowed to return next morning, as his funds were N. Carolina, and he intended getting it exchanged for Mo funds the next day. . . . Remember me to everyone who may inquire for me, let me know when to look for you.

Your friend & obt Svt.
James L. Cowan

II. Letter of F. R. Roueche to John W. Ellis at Salisbury, North Carolina.

St. Louis Mo. Nov 29th, 1847

Mr John W. Ellis

Dear Sir. I now set down to write you a few lines respecting my business I left in your hands & also to give you a description of our voyage from Salisbury to this place. . . . I will now give you a sketch of all the incidents and accidents that occurred on our route. Wee had twoo very

cold nights to camp out after wee left Salem [Winston-Salem] N. C. after wich wee had splendid weather until within one days travel to Saline where wee took steam boat for Cincinnati Ohio for wich I paid twenty dollars for my famely including my two horses & two cary all, distance between 4 and 5 hundred miles where wee arrived on Sunday the 11th instant & where wee immediately reembarked on board the Talisman for St. Louis for wich I wass to pay 31 dollars from Cincinnati for my family 2 hoarses & 2 caryalls distance about 8 hundred miles. . . . wee then left Caro [Cairo] & turned up the bigg Mississippi about 10 o'clock the same night all fretting and dreading any more accidents wich are much more frequent up the Mississippi than on the Ohio but trusting to God wee at last some how reconciled ourselves and about twelve o'clock went to bed & very unfortunately did wee do so for that morning then friday 19th instant about the same time & same hour as the accident happened the day before & again all the passengers asleep and about 4 miles below Cape Girardeau the steam boat Tempest coming down the river run right across the Talisman wich wass our boat & sunk her in less than five minutes drowning about between 75 and a hundred poor souls & sixteen hoarses of which my horse & mule made the number, it happened that our boat wass close to the left hand side of the river where there wass only about 20 feet water & the Tempest coming immidiately to our assistance me & my famely all got safe also Mr Roberts & famely safe & my Brother & famely all safe. there wass only 4 cabin passengers lost. the ballance were negroes & German emigrants some 75 or a hundred in number. Mr. Roberts also lost his horse & the worst of all for my children their little dog punch that wee took from Salisbury wass drowned. I shall write to you again. You will please write to my by return mail.

Yours very respectfully. My best respects to J. Shaver & all inquiring friends

F. R. Roueche. . . .

III. Letter of F. R. Roueche to John W. Ellis at Salisbury, North Carolina.

St Louis Mo. February 16th 1848

Mr John W. Ellis

Dear Sir

I wrote to you twice but dind get but one answer. My famely has been very sick with the Scarlet fever and at this time the baby is not expected to live. the others have all recovered, it is almost impossible to raise children here and I cant account for it. wee have had one of the most remarkable winter here I have ever saw any where, it has not been cold enough to put up ice & they are nowh bringing ice from up the river. wee have not had but one snow this winter and only three inches deep that only lasted two days, at this time the weather is as warm as I have seen

it in Salisbury in April, the old citizens say here that they never saw such a mild winter here before in their recollection. I have just nowh opened my confectionnary wich cost me the round sum of twelve hundred dollars and I cant tell you yet how it will do. I have allso bought out a famely grocery store next to me and if I dont make any money nowh I never will. the grocery cost me three thousand dollars of wich I have paid two thousand down and yet owe one thousand dollars wich amount I have to pay by the first of April and I dont know how to do it except you & my friends in Salisbury will help me to [do] so. I say my friends in Salisbury I mean them that ows me. Mr. Fishers note wich the old man promised to pay to me from New Orleans has been neglected and all so put me back in entering in to business by wating on him according to promis though I dont [know] I lost any thing by waiting as long as I did. . . . I begin to like St Louis very much and allso my famely likes it better than wee did when whee first comme here and if my calculation are right I will be to see you all this spring twelve months. be sure Mr Ellis to do all you can to send me that much by the first of April as I will need it very bad indeed & in adding the above named debts together they will make four hundred dollars & if you can pay me yours it will make me the full amount I ask in this letter & wich I hope to get with out fail by the first of April. please write to me immediately after receiving this letter & give me all the important news from Salisbury. give my best respects to my old friends although they are few, fully & with freindshop yours I remain yours very respect

F. R. Roueche

IV. Letter of F. R. Roueche to John W. Ellis at Salisbury, North Carolina.

St Louis Mo. March 11th 1848

Mr John W. Ellis

Dear Sir I again take the pleasure of addressing you to let you & the ballance of my friends know that wee are yet all in the land of the living for wich wee owe great thanks to the supreme rular of all things for all his blessings dayly bestowed on us through his great mercy, & I hope that theese few lines will find you & all my freinds enjoying the same blessing. I wrote to you in my last letter that our little daughter laid at the point of deth and I am sorry to have to write to you that she is no better yet. her disease is warter in the brain of wich wee dont expect her to recover. the other three have recovered of the scarlet feever and the mumps. there was four steamboat & a barge counsumed by fire last night in this part and as yet only one life known to be lost. I am beginning to do a splendid business in my confectionnary as well as in my famely Grocery wich are untirely seperate within four doors of each other. If you wass to see the crowd of ladies and gentlemen coming

in and out you would be astonished. So much so that I woulnd not be back in Salisbury for no money. if I stay here as long as I did in Salisbury & have my health I wont know myself. I wont have less than fifty thousand no how provided I have no misfortune. my confectionnary cost me twoo thousand dollars. my soda fount cost me ninty dollars my tables are all marbles & my chairs mohagganny, the ladies ice cream Saloon is covered with \$2-00 yard carpet. the gentlemens Saloon is covered with oil cloth. every thing is in style & splendor & ready to coin money. I will have to pay one thousand dollars by the first of April wich I wrote to you about in my former letter and I hope you have succeeded in collecting the amount I wrote to you for in my last letter to you. Major I am compelled to pay this money by the first of April and if I should fail to receive som money from you it would cost me a great deal of trouble as well as costs and forfeitures of my trade as to the famely grocery wich I woulnd loose for hundreds. be sure Major to send me the five hundred dollars I wrote for or as much as you can so I can get it by the first of April or their about as near the first of April as possible. by so doing you will oblige me very much besides saving a great forfeit and heavy costs. I look & wait for it with great anxiety and I hope not in vain even if you cant get red of Fishers note at 10 per cent discount take off 15 percent 12 or 15 in fact. do the best you can for me as my word an honour and credit as well as my pocket is at stake & I am not prepared here to meet more than half the amount, all that I can start and do with out ruining myself. I thought I [would do] Better during february and March than I have donne or I woulnd not have promissed that much money so soon. if I had twoo or three monethes longer to go on I would do very well with out a cent from you.

Write to me immediately what is the prospect of getting it or som of it & all so the news, who is sherriff [manuscript illegible] and all the particulars, As March court is at hand with you you will please give my best respects to Burton Craig, Julicus Alexander, James E. Carr [Kerr] Rufuss Barringer, Hamilton C. Jones and all the good fellows about there

F. R. Roueche

N. B. the way wee will cary the Whigs high on the first day of April for city Election will be a sin to crocket. I have nowh twoo party to contend against here the native; & the antiwar (Elias) Whiggies. they are split all to pieces here the whigs & natives & cant shine (thank God). Write to me if you please as quick as possible. I remain yours Respectfully

F. R. Roueche

FOURTH OF JULY HI-JINKS

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," rang out in the sonorous tones of the reader of the day and floated over the heads of the homespun and jean-clad assembly. This was the sacred note in the year's supreme jubilee for the Missouri frontiersman—the Fourth of July celebration.

The reading of the Declaration of Independence was but the culmination of much preparation and excitement that accompanied the annual rededication of the pillars of liberty by the nationalistic and flag-waving frontier. For weeks before, newspaper editors had reminded their readers again and again to be prepared for the gala day just around the corner.

Committees met to invite the most prominent political figures as speakers, school children practiced their songs in order to be letter perfect, silk and satin banners gradually took shape under the nimble fingers of needlewomen, a reader of the hallowed document was chosen. Perhaps most important of all, however, cooking went on at a fast pace to spread the feast before the gathering of several thousand. Even the newspapers were used to remind those who had promised to furnish fat pigs and lambs for the dinner to be certain that they were delivered in time. Often citizens met on the grounds a few days early to set up seats, tables, and a speaker's stand.

On the Fourth at daybreak or soon after, the local militia fired a salute to the national colors with all the firearms available, cannon if possible or twenty-four rounds of musketry if that was the best to be found. For the rest of the day, the militiamen were on display, parading in their uniforms or nobly accepting the plaudits of the rest of the community.

During the first decades as a territory and state when the program of the celebration was not yet stereotyped, the neighborhood gathered at a designated spot in the afternoon for the speeches and orations. In 1819 the St. Louis assembly was honored by the presence of a native American eagle "in full life" as a newspaper correspondent boasted. Perched over a full length portrait of Washington, he frequently spread his

wings to their full six feet during the proceedings. There were also present several of the principal chiefs of the Osage tribe to watch their white brothers celebrate the national birthday.

In the early twenties, the addresses were followed by a dinner spread in the courthouse or in an arbor near the speakers. As frontier women often did not eat with the men, these public dinners were at first spread solely for the latter. As might be supposed, food did not receive as much attention as did drink. It was not until much later that both women and children participated more actively in the celebration of the day.

A few decades later, however, more pomp and circumstance was added to the early morning exercises since probably nothing more could expand the exuberant and spread-eagle orations that filled the afternoons. During the forties, children congregated early in the morning at the churches, practicing their songs for the last time and forming in lines to join the great parade to the grove. About nine or ten o'clock, each class, accompanied by a white banner inscribed with an appropriate moral motto and clutched in some chubby hand, marched under the escort of teachers, superintendents, ministers, and the gallant members of the militia.

Bands often convoyed the procession and furnished stirring music along the way to the grove. The gentlewomen of the town, or those who cared to march in a body, followed the children, often to the disarray of their bonnets, bustles, and skirts, but perhaps to keep an eye on their particular John or Mary. The Revolutionary veterans who were not yet too feeble were preceded by the stand of colors borne by the militia, and, inevitably bringing up the rear, came the rest of the citizenry who had preferred the spectator's to the participant's position.

After the invocation had been given and the children had offered one of their numbers, the spirited reading of the Declaration of Independence opened the celebration proper. Instrumental music, addresses, songs by the children, and the principal oration preceded the feast spread on great tables under the trees. Enticing odors hovered over the boiled ham, roast chickens, barbecued pigs and lambs, crackers and cheese,

cart loads of light bread, bushels of sweet cakes, sponge cakes, iced pound cakes, loaf cakes, raisins, lemonade, and so many more types of refreshments that the reporter always gave up in despair.

After the cloth was removed, a long series of toasts, accompanied by songs and occasionally a band of music, followed. Whether the toasts were drunk in whiskey, cider, "champaign," or switchel is not on record. Editors often commented upon the evenings spent in "the greatest harmony and conviviality," but if examples of other occasions are at all comparable, drinks flowing freely on the Fourth did not always produce "perfect harmony and order" as was sometimes noted. However, by the forties the temperance movement was of sufficient force that the toasts were often drunk only in wine.

The subjects of the toast covered every conceivable subject: "The Day We celebrate," "George Washington," "Our country—may she ever continue to 'Go Ahead.' . . . until her thousand sons, are heard shouting in peace and prosperity from the Atlantic to the Pacific," "The Star Spangled Banner," "Agriculture," "Our State," "Old Bachelors," and finally "The Fair—the smiles of virtue are the best rewards of the brave." This last usually drew the most cheers from the chivalrous celebrators whose state by that time might have had something to do with their exuberance.

Generally the toasts were entirely non-partisan, but despite editorial protests, now and then some excited party man could not resist adding political tidbits. In 1842 in Columbia amid a Whig majority, one patriot volunteered: "The blind man on the way side: May he anoint his eyes with Clay and receive his sight."

The regular toasts were each followed by a song, among them were usually: "Washington's March," "Hail Columbia," "American Eagle," "Hail to the Chief," "The Missouri Bugle Quick-Step," and, for the women, "Molly Put the Kettle On."

Sometimes, however, a summer shower sent the crowd scattering and the festivities were taken up again in either the courthouse or a church for the remaining addresses. In Palmyra in 1845, the courthouse was purposely chosen for

the occasion and decorated. A few women were placed in a special bower shaded with branches and foliage and sang patriotic songs during the program.

In the twenties, the day had usually been concluded with a ball held at someone's home and furnishing the final excitement of the day for the nearly inexhaustible participants. By the forties, this enjoyable climax was unfortunately discontinued. The sobering effects of Sunday schools and reforming ministers seem to have eliminated this part of the amusement.

Later generations let the other traditions die also. As early as 1854, a Boonville editor was lamenting that the citizens should be making private arrangements for the celebration. If nothing more, they should assemble at the courthouse to listen to the reading of the Declaration of Independence. Partisan strife, violent by this time, should be hushed for twenty-four hours at least in honor of the national holiday.

After the Civil war, the day assumed its present aspect. As one editor commented in 1876: "Already the Fourth of July festivities have commenced. The city is decorated with flags, fire works are sounding their din, and the irrepressible young American is on the war path."

THE NIGHTRIDERS IN MISSOURI

A weird mob of shrouded figures on horseback, meeting at midnight in the dark of the moon on a hilltop amid flaring torches, is the popular picture of the Ku Klux klan of the reconstruction period. One romantic interpretation is that it sprang from the devout dedication of the flower of southern manhood to the protection of women from the supposed atrocities of the Yankee carpetbaggers and prowling irresponsible freedmen. Another is the equally extreme belief that the klans were a vicious plot of the Democratic party to regain all that had been lost by secession, to drive the negro back into slavery, the Republicans from office, and to re-establish the southern monopoly of political power. Both were political interpretations suited to the intensely emotional times.

Due to the extreme secrecy which surrounds all *sub rosa* movements, numerous reasons for the klan's founding have been offered. As the klan was a highly controversial matter, as were all things connected with southern reconstruction, most of the material on the subject is partisan and biased.

Originating in Tennessee in 1866 as an amusement project, the klan, with a changed character, swept southward through the Gulf states and west to Texas and Arkansas until a few branches appeared in Missouri in 1868. In this State, still seething with war time feuds, the organizations did not achieve a formal character with ritual, dress, and staff until later than those farther south.

The klan was not the first secret society that flourished in Missouri after Appomattox. The "Advance Guards," "Loyal Leagues," and "G. A. R.s" had sufficiently disturbed public serenity before the advent of the klan for it to incur any great popular disapproval. For that reason, the early stories that accompanied its growth were discounted by the more conservative citizens and newspapers. In fact, the Democrats hoped that the klan would merely combat the influence of the "Loyal Leagues," a Republican organization among the negroes.

When the klans grew more active in the South in the late sixties, absurd legends floated among the negroes about the white horsemen. They were dead Confederates from Shiloh or Gettysburg who had come back to watch over their home acres, or headless riders with grinning skeletons and fire-breathing monsters who were ranging over the land. Derided in the press, these stories lent enough publicity to the name that the Radical Republicans could use it with impunity in political maneuvers.

In April 1868, the citizens of Boonville were greeted one Sunday morning with placards urging the immediate rising of the klan. The Radicals, who thereupon viewed this threat with alarm, were challenged by the Democrats, who surmised that the posters were red herrings thrown by the Radicals themselves to sway the approaching election.

Thus began the attacks and the counterattacks of the two parties over the klan. The Radicals constantly pointed

to the murders and other outrages committed by the lawless klansmen. The Democrats stoutly denied that the klan was in existence or, if it were, that it was no more to be abhorred than similar Radical societies. After all, came the ironical Democratic comment, the Radicals had such a huge majority that they surely would not miss the few voters the klan liqui-dated.

At first, violence on political questions had been kept on an individual basis. When the Radical editor of the *Marshall Banner* wrote a fiery article against the former rebels, he was attacked in broad daylight by one opponent. Nevertheless, this lone encounter was considered by the Radical press to be directly the result of the Ku Klux spirit abroad in the country. Indeed at this time, the term Ku Klux was given in Missouri newspapers to all manner of violence, rather than solely to the secret society to which it strictly belonged.

Rumors of growing bands increased during this year and the St. Joseph society of the "G. A. R." accumulated a large supply of arms, firmly convinced that it would have to defend the government against marauding groups. Conservatives warned property holders to look to their locks and beware of both sects, although "it is probable one set of rouges will watch the other."

The public watched with horror the submerged violence that was apt to break out at any moment. Those in more isolated districts felt much less secure than those in the more populous areas. Showing to what extent the klan was feared or perhaps ridiculing the whole scare, the *Boonville Eagle* published a humorous skit depicting the terror which a group of surveyors aroused in the members of a farm family who supposed they were facing the guns of the Ku Klux.

Temporarily, however, the lawless bands that had roamed through Howell, Shannon, Oregon, and Dent counties following the war were restricted in their activities by law officials and the state militia. In September 1868, Captain Simpson Mason, a federal officer of Arkansas, was shot and killed from ambush near the state line adjoining Howell county by men who "styled" themselves Ku Klux. Civil officers were warned to remain indoors, the unarmed population was

terrorized by the raids of the klan, and the governor and other state officials of Arkansas were barricaded in the statehouse.

William Monk of Howell county, Mason's comrade during the Civil war, hastily gathered seventy-five men, well armed with rifles, and offered their services to the Arkansas state guard to eliminate the Ku Klux in the neighboring territory and restore civil law. Finding that the Ku Klux was reported to consist of 350 armed men, Monk returned to Missouri to recruit three companies. These then enlisted in the Arkansas state guard to answer the legal questions arising from their presence in the state. By October Monk's forces had pursued and captured the murderers of Mason and had restored civil law to the northern part of the state.

Although Monk was convinced that the klan as a military organization was at work in the border counties of Missouri, Democratic newspapers discounted such accusations as the fictions of morbid imaginations. It was impossible to determine the truth at a distance of even less than a hundred miles from the scene of an outbreak during the disordered post-war period.

The resumption of activity by the klans in Missouri in 1871 as the presidential election approached strengthened the accusation by the Republicans that the klans were used by the Democrats to increase their political power. According to the Republican press, a majority of the St. Louis county Democratic committee were members of a secret society which, in its policies, was rumored to be the blood brother of the Ku Klux. This conclusion was founded on the use of threats, drilling in secret, and opposition to the reconstruction amendments by both organizations. Although there was a large faction among the Democrats who disapproved of secrecy, they also opposed reconstruction and desired amnesty toward the former rebels throughout the South. When the committee met, therefore, they did not attempt to stamp out but merely ignored the presence of the society since it was inimical to the interests of the Republicans.

The Democrats persisted in questioning the existence of the klan even when it appeared in Stoddard county in May

1871. The St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, a Democratic paper, inferred that these outbreaks of klan activity might be an attempt by Radicals to get a state of rebellion declared in that county. They also noted it was peculiar that no official notification had been given of the troubles.

George Kitchen essayed to protect some negroes whom the klan had attempted to drive out of the county because of supposed radical sympathies. Kitchen, although he was a Democratic representative in the legislature, was ordered to leave. Other acts by the klansmen included threats to a Republican and demands for payment from another in behalf of one of their friends.

After Congress passed the anti-Ku Klux bill which granted to the President the power to proclaim the existence of a rebellion in any section of the country, to send in federal troops, and to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, the Democrats maintained that, if klans did exist in the State, state authorities were quite able to maintain law and order. The Republicans, while insisting at great length on the evils of the klans, were also certain that federal troops were unnecessary.

Although Democratic newspapers were inclined to treat the outrages of Stoddard county as schoolboy pranks, injured citizens complained of threats and orders by armed mobs to leave the troubled areas. Moreover, the problem of law enforcement was further complicated by the presence of illicit distilleries throughout the southern counties. Political animosities were intensified or forgotten and armed bands sought to thwart the efforts of federal officials to control illegal manufacture of liquor.

In May 1871 two federal deputy marshals arrested two distillers in Bollinger county and brought them back to Cape Girardeau for trial. Near Marble Hill the party was attacked by twenty masked men who attempted to release the prisoners. Spurring their horses, the officers shot their way through the mob and escaped. However, those officials who remained in other parts of the section were in constant danger of assassination.

The klan was no respecter of political sympathies if liquor were at stake. Colonel William Jeffers, formerly of the Confederate army and town marshal of Clarkton in Dunklin county, had been responsible for the elimination of grogshops and the maintainence of order when a gang of rowdies attempted to create a disturbance. After receiving many of the usual klan messages decorated with skull and crossbones, Jeffers moved to Cape Girardeau where he would be, as he said, "safe from his friends."

Of course it is quite possible that, if the klan in Missouri was originally a political organization, it had been diverted from those channels to serve other ends. Whether the individual make-up changed or not, it is impossible to tell.

Stoddard county continued to remain the scene of numerous disorders due to the activities of the klan. After August 1870, various groups appeared from time to time, arousing the ire of officials. In the following spring, sixteen masked men whipped a former Union soldier who lived near Bloomfield. The reason given for the treatment was that he had shot a hog which had wandered on his farm and punishment was meted out although he had promised to pay for it. This outrage was condemned by a county official who was compelled by the threats of the klan to destroy the affidavit giving evidence of the whipping and to leave the county or be hanged.

Other victims were more foolhardy and brought a reversion of violence on the klansmen themselves. One group attacked a physician's home to recapture a man whom they had wounded previously and who had taken refuge there. Met by a fire of lead, three assailants were killed.

The costumes of this particular organization differed from the popular conception of the klannish uniform. Missouri klansmen in Stoddard county wore black cloaks trimmed with white stripes and skull caps of the same material with masks completely hiding the faces. Other residents of the county corroborated this description from members whom they met disguised on the road, who called at farm houses

for food, or who camped nearby for a few days. While the county was terrorized by their threats, many became refugees to other counties until order could be restored.

In Iron county, a small group of klansmen supposedly attempting to find and eliminate a federal deputy marshal who had been diligent in arresting violators of the liquor revenue law, took by mistake a former Confederate soldier of the same name, but discovered their error in time. In other counties, principally New Madrid, Pemiscot, Dunklin, Butler, Mississippi, Washington, and Reynolds, threats, whippings, and murders offered numerous examples of mob rule.

By October 1871, the Ku Klux disorders in the southeastern part of the State impelled the governor to send Captain Woog, the chief clerk of the adjutant general, to investigate the affairs in Stoddard and Dunklin counties. Woog made an extensive investigation for two or three weeks and brought back an impartial report on conditions which he considered deplorable.

In Stoddard county, an armed and masked band, known as Ku Klux or "Dead Men" had ridden about the country side at night defying all law for more than a year. Now composed of six companies of fifty each, the organization, according to Woog's report, "was at first intended for political purposes, and . . . some influential citizens of the county either became members or countenanced the same, little imagining that the present state of affairs would ever come into existence." However he went on to say, "the organization is nothing but a band of horse thieves, robbers and murderer—for whose conduct no political party ought to be held responsible—opposed to all who are in favor of enforcing the laws, be they Democrats or Republicans." Woog believed that by the time he arrived the band consisted mostly of fugitives from justice from Illinois, Arkansas, and Kentucky who used the southeastern swamps as a refuge for their forays.

The problem was accentuated by the vacillating sheriff who wanted to be on good terms with everyone and was inclined to turn his head when the depredations were made.

He feared even to notify witnesses to come before the coroner after one of the numerous murders because "it would raise a little war" to bring them. The respectable citizens of the community did not offer much more resistance to the shrouded nightriders when sixty-five signed a petition begging the Ku Klux to stop its lawlessness.

In Dunklin county the foresight of the deputy sheriff in organizing a posse to restore order and the killing of four of the members of the Klan brought comparative quiet to a section formerly afflicted with another band of robbing klansmen. Woog's tour took him to Bloomfield, New Madrid, and Charleston where he did not find any record of violence. In Alleville, Cape Girardeau county, however, he found that they had prevented the establishment of a negro school by a night interview with a negro.

Even Woog's declaration that "the depredations and outrages committed are not of a political character, but are the acts of lawless men, mostly from other States" did not prevent the Republican press from continuing their accusations of a political tie-up. The Radicals were urged to believe that the political purposes for which the klans were originally organized in Stoddard county were to intimidate the negro Republican voters, to control the local courts, mold public opinion, and finally regain national political control.

Captain Woog, however, acting on the assumption that the property owners had nothing to do with the depredations, proposed that one hundred of them be organized into a state militia to maintain civil law. Governor B. Gratz Brown ordered the Ku Klux klan to disperse immediately and a militia of two hundred men to be enrolled, armed, and equipped for service in Stoddard and Dunklin counties. The Radicals suggested, if the militia proved inadequate in this crisis, that the governor call upon the facilities of the federal government.

However, repression in a few counties drove the klans to greener and freer pastures. By March 1872 they had instigated a reign of terror in Butler and Ripley counties. In Ripley whippings were frequent and persons, widely noted for their Republican affiliations, were in constant danger of

a nocturnal visit. In Butler county, incidents were more violent. The negroes on one farm, who were employed by their former master as laborers, were ordered to leave the county. To give emphasis to their commands, the klansmen murdered one of the negroes, thus arousing the owner who challenged the band which had so cold-bloodedly killed the defenseless black. Shortly after, the klan invaded his home and murdered him in the midst of his family.

The *Boonville Weekly Eagle*, a Republican paper, maintained that the plan of the governor to use the militia to control the klan was nullified by the fact that a large proportion of the militia were also members of the klan. The farce of officers hunting the authors of crimes which they had themselves committed was well appreciated in the southeastern counties. Nevertheless, the citizens of Pemiscot county also petitioned Governor Brown to enroll a militia to help enforce the laws there.

The arming and organizing of desperadoes under the cloak of law had the inevitable effects. The Ku Klux murdered two men in March 1872 in Stoddard county, boasting that they would rid the southeast counties of Republicans. A few days later, a squad of militia accompanied by the deputy sheriff broke into the home of a farmer, narrowly escaped shooting his children, and finally killed him. Although they called him by name, they gave as their excuse that they were hunting two klansmen charged with murder and wanted to question him. It was the popular conclusion that he was murdered because of his bitter opposition to the klan and his political opinions. The militia had protected the interests of the klan.

Beatings, threats, and murders continued throughout the year. The Reverend Thomas Callaghan of Reynolds county was whipped but left the ministry to continue speaking on political issues. Farmers often banded together to withstand a threatened siege. County officials hid in the woods for weeks, unable to perform their duties or visit their families. Finally, Marion Weeks, a deputy postmaster in Reynolds county who had come to St. Louis to give evidence to trace the klansmen, was killed from ambush as he was returning home.

Various whippings and threats were common throughout the seventies as activities were continued by several bands "known as Ku-Klux, the principal business of which was to protect illicit distilling and terrorize over the community." In 1877, N. C. Cochran, a federal witness in the Ku Klux trials, was murdered on a public road. His duties as a deputy marshal had involved arresting numerous klansmen for their distilling, and reporting on behalf of their victims who had been whipped for testifying against them.

However, after the national Ku Klux was dissolved in 1877, Missouri groups declined in power and influence. Whether this was due to the growing power of the Democrats in the State or to the increased power of the law enforcement officials is uncertain.

MISMOURI MINIATURES

PHOEBE COUZINS

Phoebe Couzins, first professional woman lawyer in the United States, was born in St. Louis, September 8, 1842. During the Civil war she was a volunteer worker for the Western Sanitary commission, and her experiences brought her to the conclusion that women, if possessed of political power, could prevent war. Her belief was embodied in the Woman's Franchise organization in 1869.

The same year Miss Couzins applied for admission to the Washington university law school, and admission was granted by unanimous vote. This university, the first to admit women to its law school, favored the movement for advanced education for women. At her graduation from the school with a bachelor of laws degree in 1871, one newspaper dubbed her "a female bachelor." Soon afterward she was admitted to the bar, but she never practiced extensively. In 1876 she began lecturing on the woman's suffrage platform and won recognition in this field.

Miss Couzin's father, who was commissioned United States marshal of the eastern district of Missouri, July 5, 1884, appointed his daughter a deputy. When his health failed, she took charge of his duties. Following her father's

death, September 1, 1887, Miss Couzins was appointed United States marshal, the first woman to serve in that capacity, and she took the oath of office, September 28, 1887. Besides handling routine office affairs, Miss Couzins engaged actively in apprehending counterfeiters and other law violators.

Phoebe Couzins also served as commissioner for Missouri on the national board of charities and correction and on the World's fair board of directors. Well-posted on politics, Miss Couzins was the author of several standard works. She died in poverty in St. Louis, December 6, 1913.

[Some of the sources for data on the life of Phoebe Couzins are: *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XV (1916); *Boonville Weekly Eagle*, May 12, 1871; *Jefferson City State Times*, October 7, 1887; *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, September 3, 1887; *Register of the United States Department of Justice, 1886*; Letter of Francis G. Burgess, superintendent of Bellefontaine cemetery, to Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri.]

JAMES CARSON JAMISON

An adventurer, soldier, and public official, James Carson Jamison was born near Paynesville in Pike county, September 30, 1830. He spent his early life in his native county but stories of gold lured him to California in the spring of 1849. Five years later, as he mined gold at Georgetown, California, he heard of General William Walker in the Central American country of Nicaragua.

With a "dare-devil lot" of forty-six men, Jamison made his way to San Francisco and, in December 1855, sailed for Nicaragua to join Walker's filibusterers. He was elected first lieutenant of his band of forty-six. During the voyage the men mutinied against the ship's crew, and Jamison almost lost his life in quelling the outbreak. Walker commissioned Jamison a first lieutenant in his army and later raised him to the rank of captain.

For over a year Jamison followed Walker through a series of bloody revolutionary battles. At the battle of Rivas in April 1856, he was wounded and left for dead. Regaining consciousness during the night after Walker had evacuated the place, Jamison stumbled through the dark city, captured

a pony by chance, and although badly wounded and almost unclothed rode bareback the 65 miles to Walker's headquarters. Jamison sailed to the United States in 1857 to recruit men for service with Walker, but on arriving at New Orleans he heard of Walker's surrender to an officer of the United States navy. Jamison then turned to his home in Missouri, and years later he wrote of his Nicaraguan experiences in a book called *With Walker in Nicaragua*.

During the Civil war Jamison fought with the South. He secretly organized a company in Lincoln and Pike counties and succeeded in merging his unit with General Sterling Price's men in time for the battle of Lexington. Little is known of Jamison's Civil war record, but he was a Federal prisoner for a long time and was finally exchanged.

After the war Jamison did newspaper work, at various times editing papers in Clarksville, Bowling Green, and Louisiana. Appointed adjutant general of Missouri in 1885, he co-operated actively in restoring transportation by use of State militia during the great railroad strike. In 1890 he moved to Oklahoma where he later served as adjutant general again. He died in Guthrie, Oklahoma, November 17, 1916, and was buried at Clarksville, Missouri.

[Sources for data on the life of James Carson Jamison are: *History of Pike County* (1883); Clarksville *Banner-Sentinel*, November 22, 1916; *Kansas City Times*, November 18, 1916; Jamison, J. C., *With Walker in Nicaragua* (1909).]

RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

The Pedlar, A Farce in Three Acts. By Alphonso Wetmore. Published by John Paxton. (St. Louis, Printed by William Ore, 1821, 34 pp.)

One evening during the early months of 1821, St. Louis theater goers enjoyed what was for them a unique experience. At least, it is to be hoped that they enjoyed it, and there would seem, at this late date, good reason why they should. Assembled in the Thespian theater on Main street between Olive and Locust, they, as the French would say, "assisted" at a "first night," the first, I suspect, west of the Mississippi.

Theatrical performances were no novelty. They had during the past six years seen many, some produced by amateurs, some by such professionals as had the hardihood to brave the wilds of the western country. Some of these professional performers had been occupying the 2-year-old Thespian theater, built for the local Thespian society, for several months and had given during that period an unknown number of performances. Managed by the firm of Collins and Jones, this little group, which had endured great hardship and actual peril in order to reach St. Louis, included among its numbers Mrs. Groshon, an actress of some reputation who had actually played in important eastern theaters, and Noah M. Ludlow, one of the future theatrical magnates of the West.

The presence of this group offered an opportunity to the Thespians. In those rough but proper days, no real *lady* would have dreamed of appearing upon a public stage. It was not long after that Anna Cora Mowatt, born into one of the first families of Manhattan, was almost ostracized by her friends because she had the "bad taste" to give readings from the poets before paying audiences. But here was a chance. The Thespains could give a play and enlist the help of the female members of the Collins and Jones company. For once their women's roles could be appropriately cast. Evidently three actresses were willing, and so we find Mrs. Groshorn, Mrs. Hanna, and Miss Seymour in the cast of *The Pedlar*.

Such little information as we possess concerning this play is derived from the copy belonging to the St. Louis Mercantile library association, there being, at least as far as the reviewer has been able to discover, no references to it in the newspapers of the day. That is one reason why it is impossible to tell the date of its premiere beyond the fact that it must have taken place before the departure of the actresses, apparently about the end of April.

Alphonso Wetmore, the author of the play, was an army officer who, according to *The Wetmore Family of America*, accomplished the rather unusual feat of dying in 1849 "from the effects" of a wound, the loss of an arm, sustained in the

War of 1812. However, the *Missouri Statesman*, published at Columbia, June 22, 1849, gives the cause of his death as cholera.

At the time Wetmore wrote this farce he had been a resident of Missouri for several years, having come with the army sometime between 1816-1819 and settling in Franklin. In 1823, he became a trustee of Franklin academy. He later practiced law in St. Louis. Wetmore was the author of the *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* which was published in 1837.

In the dedication to Captain Benjamin F. Larned, he says he wrote the play for the amusement of "our friends, the Thespians" in "only forty-eight leisure hours." Captain Larned played Nutmeg, the Pedlar, in the St. Louis premiere.

The Pedlar is no masterpiece of dramatic art but assuredly many plays with less merit were enacted on the boards of such theaters as the Thespian and continued to be enacted for years to come. The plot is awkwardly constructed and wends its way from one venerable cliché to another. The characters are stock types. The dialogue sparkles with no dazzling wit, Rabelaisian or otherwise. Yet the farce has the virtue of freshness in subject matter and of rough and ready vigor. Whatever else they may be, the characters are distinctly American and also distinctively alive.

There is absolutely no trace anywhere of the all-pervading sentimentality of the day. Moreover, there is good local color, apparently, however, of Kentucky rather than of Missouri, for one of the characters brags that he has the best "bar dogs in ole Kaintuck'." There is revealed a strong aversion to all Yankees and to Yankee pedlars in particular. While the native color may have been taken from Kentucky, it is not alien to the Missouri setting of that day.

One of these unwelcome guests, named "Nutmeg" after one of the most notorious items in his stock, makes his appearance in a lonely frontier settlement. Nutmeg is the nearest approach to a real character in the play. One of the tribe of Autolycus, if he is not literally "a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles," he does live by "the silly cheat." He too is untroubled by inconvenient scruples and possesses gaiety of

soul and readiness for anything that turns up, provided only that it does not interfere with his wanderings.

His first act is to sell off his stock of lanterns to a grumpy customer called "Old Prairie" and the various members of his household, no one of them knowing about the other's purchases. He also helps himself to a kiss from the old man's niece Pecanne, a theft which is not at all displeasing to the victim. "What a sweet breath!" she exclaims. "He don't chew tobacco, I'm sure."

Her uncle is so angry over the trick played upon him by the wily Yankee that he vows to get revenge with the help of his friend "Old Contimental," who fortunately happens to be a justice. This old gentleman, who proves to be also a very loquacious veteran of the Battle of Bunker Hill, readily convicts the pedlar "of a suspicion of dishonesty" and confiscates all his goods.

Meanwhile in the first scene of Act II, another stranger has put in an appearance. This is Harry Emigrant, who reveals his background and profession by speaking the typical sailor-lingo of the stage variety. He is looking for his long-lost father "that I've never seen, since I was the size of a marline spike. Mayhap the old hulk has gone down," a suspicion which causes him not the least concern.

At this juncture, he encounters the frontiersman's daughter Mary and proceeds to woo her forthwith with nautical phrases and press-gang tactics. But he is interrupted by her brother Opposum, the owner of the "bar dogs," who informs him, "I'm half sea horse and half sea serpent," and asks his sister, "Which eye shall I take out, Mary?" She flees without specifying. But Harry admits that he has been a trifle rude and adds that he is willing to marry the girl if her father will consent.

Opposum Where was you born, stranger?

Harry In Boston, the land of codfish and potatoes.

Opposum 'T won't do—my father's old Virginia never tire, eat parch'd corn and lie by the fire.—You've got a *heap o', larning!* stranger, but I can out-jump, out-shoot, out-hop' and out-run . . .

Nutmeg has not given up his designs on Pecanne, and after a more or less maidenly hesitation, due chiefly to doubts concerning his picaresque mode of living, she agrees to elope. He tells her that in one of his confiscated coats there is a bag of gold and instructs her to buy said coat at the public auction at which his possessions are to be disposed. She acts accordingly and acquires the garment—plus the bag of gold—for four coon-skins.

The most interesting feature of this scene is the list of Nutmeg's effects rattled off by the Auctioneer:

Auctioneer Gentlemen and Ladies! I'll offer you the goods of a travelling merchant, who has recently declined trade, much against his will—thanks to the Justice, Constable and Complainant—much to my interest. I'll read the Invoice. (*reads*) Three wool hats—one case of family medicine, consisting of doctor Rodgers' vegetable pulmoniac detergent decoction, Lee's Scotch ointment, Relf's cough drops, Lee's patent Windham bilious pills, warranted not to stick in the throat, Redheiffer's patent cathartic perpetual motion, &, &—four and a half cards of gingerbread—John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress—one odd volume, of select Ricks upon Travellers—three boot Jacks, and a small keg of pickled herring—one gallon bottle of Cider Brandy—three pounds and a half of dried peaches—one Merino sheep-skin—four tin pans—three hundred and twenty rifle-flints—one package of artificial nutmegs and garden seeds, with a quantity of stone coal Indigo—several newly invented patent bee-hives, and thirty-three unfinished powder-horns. All the above to be sold for ready cash or coon-skins!

In order to introduce a good, old stage complication, Old Prairie overhears Harry and Mary planning their elopement. He promptly locks the girl up and determines to have a little fun of his own, disguising himself in her clothing and running away with the credulous tar. Unfortunately for him Nutmeg overhears his unwary soliloquy. Then, emerging from the shadows, the brazen pedlar boldly asks for the hand of Pecanne. This request his erstwhile victim hotly denies until the bag of gold is produced. Thereupon he is at once convinced of the error of his ways and invites his nephew-elect indoors.

Act III opens with a drinking scene in which the bibulous Old Continental, in full uniform with gold epaulets, recounts for the nth time the story of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The narrative is interrupted by the entrance of a singing Boatman in a red shirt and torn trousers, who, when questioned by Oppossum as to his identity, replies, "A steam boat, damn your eyes!"

"Then I'm a Missouri snag—I'm into you!" cries the "bar-hunter."

They start a fight, first agreeing neither to gouge or bite ears. Afterwards, Oppossum admits that he may have gouged a little. "My fingers have done a heap of that sort of truck." But there are no hard feelings.

Old Continental now proceeds with his friend's consent to make love to Mary, who puts him in his place and leaves him weeping. But Old Prairie does not intend to have his plans miscarry. As soon as he himself has "eloped" with Harry, the veteran is to disguise himself as the sailor lad and carry off the maiden whom her fond parent evidently thinks is a halfwit.

The young people, however, have plans of their own. Nutmeg knocks the ladder from under Old Prairie, sends him sprawling, and then, to add insult to injury, bounces him over country roads in his springless cart. The slave girl, Sable, disguised as Mary, runs off with Old Continental disguised as Harry. The biter is bit. Where all the masks mentioned were supposed to come from, the author does not say.

At all events, the plotters are unmasksed by the counter-plotters, and a happy ending results for all. Nutmeg, of all persons, suddenly assumes, as if by spontaneous combustion, the role of *deus ex machina*. He reveals that, not only is Old Continental Harry's long-lost father, but also that he is the heir to a fortune reluctantly left behind by a brother recently deceased. The defunct relative, says Nutmeg, of course never expected him to turn over the property to the rightful owner, but he does so. It is pleasant to note, however, that

the Pedlar is undergoing no just-before-the-curtain reformation. No, he says, he just can't carry real estate around in his cart.

So the farce concludes. So far as is known, it has had but three subsequent revivals: one, noted by Professor R. L. Rusk, in Lexington, Kentucky; one by the Juvenile Thespains in St. Louis in 1835; and one by Thyrus, the dramatic club of Washington university, under the reviewer's direction in 1930. As an example of home grown, frontier drama it has deserved a better fate.—*Contributed by William G. B. Carson,¹ Associate Professor of English, Washington university, St. Louis, Missouri.*

MISSOURI SCRAPBOOK

Missourians have always been noted for adding a tang of humor to living. Even politics, a serious concern, brought out in 1840 the Democrat who warned his opponent in a verbal duel that "When a man is flat on his back in the ditch and has not the power to get out of it, he had better lay still, for the more he twists and turns about, the more muddy will he get." Here are a few items to add to your scrapbook.

Dognappers! Beware!

DOGS, DOGS!—We notice that the dog-catchers are out in a new rig this season. The little boys and girls who have not secured "protection papers" at the City Register's had better make application, if they do not want their *purps* snatched up.—*Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, March 6, 1865.

Recommending Form 1040 A

Wright county has a wild man.—*Monroe City News*, January 3, 1878.

¹WILLIAM G. B. CARSON, a native Missourian, attended Smith academy and Washington university. He received an A.B. degree in 1913, an M.A. in 1916 and has done post-graduate work at Columbia university. A former instructor at Iowa State university, he is now an associate professor of English at Washington university.

Help Wanted!

About 50 or 60 Parents to take care of as many full grown boys, who prowl about at night, burning store boxes; and committing various other vandalisms. For the requisite number of Parents a fair compensation will be given.—*Weekly Tribune*, January 9, 1847.

We all grow up

THE "OLDEST INHABITANT."—The Picayune has found out who that much talked of individual, the "oldest inhabitant" is. An elderly chap speaking of his great knowledge of the western country the other day, said that he had "known the Mississippi river ever since it was a small creek." He's the man.—*Springfield Advertiser*, February 4, 1845.

How is the broth?

Cooks' Ball.—All the cooks and caterers of this city are to have a grand ball and festival at Turner's Hall, on the evening of the 17th inst. If good eating is any inducement to go, then there will be a great crowd at the Cooks' Ball.—*Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, January 15, 1861.

Scotching the Snake!

We heard yesterday that an old dyed-in-the wool Loco, had cut down every apple tree in his orchard to prevent the Whigs from making hard cider next fall!—*Boon's Lick Times*, May 16, 1840.

Did his wife hide his old one?

THAT HAT.—To save all farther anxious enquiries about our HAT, we will state that we came by it honestly, as anyone can learn by calling on Joseph L. Baum, who has plenty more of all sorts, sizes and conditions. . . .—*Macon Argus*, July 3, 1867.

Your size is safe, Madam.

The subscriber has on hand a most complete assortment of articles, suited for certain very pleasant occasions. . . . "No questions asked—No secrets told."—*Glasgow Weekly Times*, February 14, 1850.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from February through April 1943, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Jurden, Guy E., St. Louis	Wells, C. E., Maryville
Moll, Justus R., Jefferson City	

ONE NEW MEMBER

Baynes, R. F., New Madrid	Nakdimen, H. S., Kansas City
Bigger, Byrne E., Hannibal	Putz, John G., Jackson
Boogher, Judge Lawrence, St. Louis	Smiley, J. R., Kansas City
Falzone, Joseph A., Clayton	Smith, Mrs. Gardner, Kansas City
Goodwin, Cliff B., Marshall	Sturgis, H. S., Neosho
Hislop, F. L., St. Louis	Sullivan, S. H., Sullivan
Kelleter, Paul, Ironton	Withers, Mrs. Robert S., Liberty
Morton, John N., Springfield	Woods, Colonel Charles L., Rolla

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

FEBRUARY-APRIL 1943

Ninety-two applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from February to April 1943, inclusive. The total of annual membership as of April 30, 1943, is 3429.

The new members are:

Ahlvin, R. E., Kansas City	Bennett, Foster L., St. Louis
Alford, William T., Kansas City	Bennett, Marion T., Washington, D. C.
Alt, Walter S., University City	Berghaus, Roy O., San Francisco, Cal.
Armstrong, C. H., Wichita, Kansas	Bishop, Mrs. D. W., Gashland
Armstrong, Frank T., Sedalia	Blackburn, Stuart E., Kansas City
Baker, Mrs. H. M., San Francisco, Cal.	Bloom, Dr. Charles E., Cameron
Balboa, Mrs. Mabel W., Long Is- land, N. Y.	Blucher, W. E., Kansas City
Barnes, William R., St. Louis	Boogher, Mrs. Arnold, Tampa, Fla.
Barrow, J. O., Vandalia	Campuzano, Tadeo I., Columbia

- Christman, H. G., Arlington, Va.
Cochel, W. A., Kansas City
Coffman, Edmund, Marshall
Cole, William C., Washington, D. C.
Connor, Robert W., Hannibal
Conrad, Oscar J., Jefferson City
Crooks, Alfred J., Kansas City
Crowell, Mrs. R. E., Springfield
Cummings, Willa E., Robertsville
Davis, Robert S., Kirkwood
Day, Mrs. Blanche A., Huntsville
DeSoto Public Library, DeSoto
Durham, W. O., Newburg
Felling, Dr. R. J., Weston
Fox, Alex P., St. Louis
Freeman, Mrs. W. A., Jerico Springs
Garry, Marshall S., Kansas City
Geyer, H. G., Neosho
Grant, W. T., Kansas City
Griffith, Harry, St. Joseph
Halvorson, H. H., Kansas City
Hannaca, William L., Chicago, Ill.
Heldenburg, Anne C., St. Louis
Hemphill, J. A., Kennett
Henderson, Paul, Alliance, Nebr.
Hickey, Phillip J., St. Louis
Hodge, W. B., West Plains
Jones, E. E., Lilbourn
Jones, J. W., Maryville
Keating, Thomas P., Kansas City
Keusenkothen, John L., Cape Girardeau
Kime, Wm. T., Huntington Park, Cal.
Kirschner, Winstead B., New York, N. Y.
Kremer, Marie, St. Louis
Kroeger, Dr. Gilbert M., Purdin
Langsdorf, Mrs. A. S., St. Louis
Leyerle, Mrs. Cora Mae, Wentzville
Lohman, Rev. A. H., Perryville
Lyster, Mrs. A. F., Kansas City
McLanahan, Robert A., Kansas City
McPherrin, William L., Kansas City
Martin, Rev. Christian J., Cape Girardeau
Mason, Carol Y., Maryville
Miller, Howard W., Maplewood
Miller, Louis E., Washington, D. C.
Millspaugh, Frank C., Joplin
Mullin, Robert D., Kansas City
Murrell, Dr. R. E., Eldon
Nakdimen, H. S., Kansas City
Napier, Milton F., St. Louis
Neece, Harold V., Maryville
Needham, J. J., St. Louis
Nesheim, H. I., Mexico
Nussbaum, Frederick, St. Louis
Oakes, Mrs. Fay H., Crystal City
Pierson, E. F., Kansas City
Raithel, Mrs. O. W., Sr., Clarksburg
Redford, Mrs. George V., Holden
Rein, Frederick H., St. Louis
Ringwald, A. G., St. Louis
Rodgers, W. J., University City
Roseman, E. J., Greenfield
Rucker, B. H., Rolla
Rumsey, E. M., Kansas City
St. Francis Xavier School, Jefferson City
Steimle, Leo P., Cape Girardeau
Spaeth, Mrs. Hallie N., Kansas City
Spencer, John P., St. Louis
Strafuss, Mrs. Elizabeth B., Kansas City
Strauch, John B., St. Louis
Teachont, Mrs. David, Beverly Hills, Cal.
Temples, John M., Joplin
Williams, Charles E., St. Louis
Witmer, Edward A., Republic

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY HOLDS ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The State Historical Society held its thirty-seventh annual business meeting at Columbia, April 12, 1943. The customary dinner was not given because of war conditions.

A resolution of appreciation on the late Marion C. Early, first vice-president of the Society, was presented by L. M. White and unanimously adopted.

Trustees who were elected for three year terms, ending at the annual meeting in 1946, were Jesse W. Barrett of St. Louis, Albert M. Clark of Richmond, Henry J. Haskell of Kansas City, William R. Painter of Carrollton, Joseph Pulitzer of St. Louis, H. S. Sturgis of Neosho, James Todd of Moberly, Jonas Viles of Columbia, and L. M. White of Mexico.

The report of Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, covered the activities of the Society for the year including rank and membership, collections and publications, and services. The Society recommended that the report should be published in the next issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* for the benefit of those members who were unable to attend.

The report of the Society's treasurer, R. B. Price, on the annual balance sheet for 1942 was presented by John F. Rhodes. The financial report of the executive and finance committees was presented by E. E. Swain.

Following the annual business meeting in the afternoon, the officers, trustees, and members of the Society visited the J. Christian Bay Collection of Western Americana.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

The latest subjects of this series include the glamour of the show boat, Easter fashions of grandmother's day, the jolly life of the flatboatmen, and the celebration of muster day. The articles released during April, May, and June are as follows:

April: "Merry Cry of the Calliope Gone from Missouri Rivers," "Forefathers of Missouri Bred Love for Festivities," "The Spring Bonnet Parade," and "As Audubon Saw Missouri."

May: "Tavern Tempted Travelers With Pork and Corn Bread," "Across Ribbons of Ferries Pioneers Thronged Westward," "Dame Fashion Moved Slowly on the Missouri Frontier," and "Musket Drills and Wrestlers on Display for Muster Day."

June: "Boatmen Tormented Pioneers in Days of Early Missouri," "Missouri Wolves Prowl with Heavy Price on Their Heads," "Westward Ho! For Missouri Via the Prairie Schooner," "Keelboat was Clipper Ship of Early Missouri Travel," and "Jumping and Snagging Rob Ozark Lakes of Game Fish."

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The spring meeting of the Cole county historical society was held in Jefferson City, April 29. A motion picture, "The Heritage We Guard," was presented. Harold Clover, chief of the information division of the Missouri Conservation commission, spoke on the history of the fur trade. Members of the society are continuing the compilation of a series of historical articles which are published in the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune*. The most recent are "Ernest Simonsen," by Katheryn E. Steininger, and "J. Ed. Belch, Lawyer and Legislator," by Idie M. Belch.

Mrs. Henry Ells, historian of the society, has completed the reproduction of the marriage records of Cole county from 1821 to 1860. Copies will be placed in the library of the State Historical Society, the city library of Jefferson City, and the records in Washington of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

At the regular meeting of the Dunklin county historical society at Kennett on April 16 a permanent constitution was adopted. Those who were members on that date are considered the charter members. Any citizen or former citizen of Dunklin county is eligible for membership in the society which will be affiliated with the State Historical Society. Addresses were given by Judge C. H. Robards on the history of the Dunklin county court, Judge C. C. Redman on the history of Highway 84, and Floyd Maxwell, of the Senath high school, on early days in Senath.

The Howard-Cooper counties historical society met in Fayette on April 14. A suggestion of changing the name of the society to the Boonslick Historical society has been referred to a committee. Colonel J. B. Barnes of Boonville gave an address on the "Military Men of Boonslick Country."

The Phelps county historical society has acquired the entire collection of studio films which were accumulated by the late I. J. Baumgardner, a photographer of Rolla. According to Dr. C. V. Mann, custodian of the society's records, the collection contains from 10,000 to 24,000 films consisting of individual and family portraits, historic places and scenes, and pictures of family Bible pages containing valuable birth data.

A meeting of the Greater St. Louis historical association was held in Brown hall of Washington university on April 9. Miss Evelyn C. Cox of Beaumont high school read a paper on "The Northern Trail to California." The paper was reviewed by Dr. A. B. Bender of Soldan high school.

ACQUISITIONS

W. A. Porter of Plattsburg has given to the Society a business ledger kept by his grandfather, Abraham Funkhouser, and his great-uncle, George Funkhouser. Although the ledger was originally for the year 1860, most of the pages have been covered with the invoices received from 1873 to 1875.

Redmond S. Cole of Tulsa, Oklahoma, donated to the Society the first four issues of the 1903 volume of *The Western Fellow*, a monthly magazine published in Columbia for mid-western college students.

Dean Frank Mott of the University of Missouri school of journalism contributed a rare map of Missouri, printed in 1844 by Sidney E. Morse and Samuel Breese.

ANNIVERSARIES

The Presbyterian church of Richmond celebrated the centennial anniversary of its founding from February 28 to March 7. The following ministers gave addresses during the week of celebration: the Reverend H. R. Barnett of Richmond; Robert Thorpe of the Moscow church, the Reverend J. M. Bemiss of Liberty, the Reverend H. V. McCulloch of Lee's Summit, the Reverend George H. Vick of St. Joseph, and the Reverend Roy C. Caraway of Kansas City. The church also published a pamphlet containing a history of the church by George W. Buchanan and a history of church activities by Mrs. Albert Watkins.

To celebrate the bicentennial anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, a convocation was held at the original Jefferson gravestone on the University of Missouri campus at Columbia on April 13. Irving Dilliard, editorial writer for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was the speaker at the outdoor ceremony which was attended by students, faculty, and eight hundred cadets in the army air corps. A wreath had been placed on the monument by the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Jefferson monument was placed on the campus of the university in 1885 by Jefferson's heirs after a national stone was erected by the federal government at his grave at Monticello.

Under the direction of R. E. Ford, superintendent, the pupils of Oak Ridge high school compiled a history of Oak Ridge as a term project in their study of Missouri history. The research has been published under the title, "History of Oak Ridge, Missouri, 1852-1942," to celebrate the anniversary of its establishment.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The federal bill providing for the establishment of a memorial to the late George Washington Carver has been unanimously approved by the public lands committee of the house of representatives. With a maximum of forty acres to be

acquired and \$30,000 to be spent, a replica of the log cabin at his birthplace near Diamond will be erected as a monument to the noted scientist.

A memorial service in honor of the late George Washington Carver was held April 11 in the St. Louis Municipal auditorium. The service was sponsored by The Assembly, an organization of negro workers at the Curtiss Wright plant. Austin W. Curtis, Jr., successor to Dr. Carver at Tuskegee institute gave the address. The day was proclaimed by Mayor William Dee Becker as George Washington Carver day in the city.

NOTES

The Confederate battle flag of the First Missouri cavalry will be returned shortly to the State by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The flag was taken by a soldier of the Eleventh Wisconsin infantry at the battle of Black River bridge near Vicksburg, Mississippi, on May 17, 1863. It has been in the Wisconsin State Historical museum at Madison since the Civil war, and is now about to be returned along with five others to the states from which they were taken. Officers of the United Daughters of the Confederacy will decide on its disposal.

"Land of a Million Smiles," an article on the Ozark region, appeared in the May issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*. Written by Frederick Simpich and well-illustrated, the article dealt mainly with the changes the war program has made in that region. A brief coverage of the entire area is given with comments on the social, economic, and scenic features of the district.

At the meeting of the Missouri Historical Society held at the Jefferson Memorial on February 26, Miss Shirley Seifert spoke on "The Legend of the Fur Trade from a Novelist's Point of View."

The house in which, according to tradition, the "hot dog" was born will be torn down in May by the city authorities

of St. Louis. Known as the Jean Baptiste Roy house, it is located at Second and Plum streets, only one block south of the Jefferson Memorial. Built in 1829, it is also the oldest residence in the city. The hot dog tradition arose from the occupation of the house by William Tamme and John Boepple, sausage manufacturers. It was from them that A. L. Feuchwanger, a sausage peddler, purchased his wares and started the practice of selling in 1883 a weiner in a split bun—the hot dog.

Nearing his one hundredth birthday, Gustav Loesch of Jefferson City recalled the manpower shortage on farms during the Civil war in which he enlisted at the age of nineteen. His reminiscences were gathered by Mary Frances Gentry and were published in the March 21 issue of the Jefferson City *Sunday News and Tribune*.

Paul Wellman in the *Kansas City Star*, April 24, reviewed the Gunn City massacre of April 24, 1872, which climaxed the era of wild railroad financing in Missouri.

Two articles by Ira D. Mullinax on the hunt for Sam Hildebrand, the Civil war outlaw of Southeast Missouri, were published in the March 11 and 18 issues of the *Princeton Post*. John C. Breckenridge, a former Princeton marshal, led the posse in the search.

The State Historical Society has furnished a duplicate set of twenty-six posters used during the Liberty Loan drive of World war I to the war savings staff of the federal treasury department. The present collection of posters in the library of the Society will be expanded by the addition of two copies of the various posters now being used for the promotion of the sale of war bonds by the war savings staff.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Standard of Living in 1860, American Consumption Levels on the Eve of the Civil War. By Edgar W. Martin. (Chicago, The University of Chicago press, 1942. 451 pp.) Just how the average citizen eighty years ago lived—what

he wore, ate, read, the house he lived in, how he amused himself—is here presented plus information on living costs. The middle class worker then was earning from \$800 to \$5000 a year, and professional men from \$1000 to \$2000. Despite the increase in consumption from the colonial period, only about 5% of the income of the average American family was left after expenditures for food, clothing, and shelter were met. The forces sending the consumption up or limiting it are included as well as the atmosphere of the times. This was the time when man could see the possibility of attaining increased leisure and material comforts. Although the study is well documented, a very readable style gives the data an entertaining approach rather than the stodgy plodding of the usual economic history.

Lower Mississippi. By Hodding Carter. The Rivers of America series. Illustrated. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1942. 467 pp.) Blood and beauty, pestilence and wealth here mingle in the four hundred years' history of the river and its people. Remembering his childhood along the levee, reading the great river tales, and traveling along its course from Cairo to the Gulf, the author has a rollicking story with innumerable facets of poetic beauty. Following the footprints of DeSoto, the French paysan, red-shirted boatmen, languid cotton planters, Arkansas sharecroppers, or a patois-speaking Louisiana negro, the river uncurls its tale of pride, poverty, and the wanton elegance of the valley.

The Life of Johnny Reb, The Common Soldier of the Confederacy. By Bell Irwin Wiley. (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill company, 1943. 444 pp.) "Who-who-ey!" and out of the pages springs the average soldier of the South from a middle class rural society, lacking in polish, perspective, and tolerance, but sturdy and independent. He was rarin' to go, but he became nostalgic and war-weary as pestilence and wounds, bad beef and cornbread, and the relentless pursuit of pests struck his spirit. His streak of irresponsibility often drove him to kick over the traces, but his besetting sins were curbed by a revival or his innate conventionality. His

bonhomie and homesickness often led him to fight a polite war with the enemy, even sharing rations and companionship. Sometimes struck by cowardice or panic, he nevertheless rose to supreme heights of sheer courage, standing under withering fire against great odds. The complete dependence of the author upon such primary sources as diaries, letters, and journals make this an extremely valuable addition to a study of the Confederacy.

Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827.* Edited by Grace Lee Nute. The Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission Publications, I. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1942. 469 pp.) This is the first of a series of publications of documentary material relating to the Mississippi valley by the commission. The documents cover the resumption of Catholic missions among the Indians in the upper Mississippi and Red river valleys. A translation of the French letters and reports is included.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. X, The Territory of Michigan, 1805-1820. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, Government printing office, 1942. 498 pp.) This volume is composed of a selection of the official territorial papers found in the federal archives. With an emphasis on those of administration, they include also documents relating to the postal service, public lands, and Indian affairs which are essential to the administration of the territory.

Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers. By Carl Coke Rister. (Norman, University of Oklahoma press, 1942. 245 pp.) The Davy Crockett of southern Kansas, David Payne led several attempts of emigrant trains from Missouri and Kansas to get into the Indian lands of the Canadian valley of Oklahoma from 1879 to 1884. Driven out by federal troops, he returned again and again to the area until finally the great boom became legal with the opening of the last of the free lands in America for settlement. The land hunger of settlers and the desire by the railroads for settlements to enhance their ownings had brought to fruition the trail Payne had blazed.

And Never Yield. By Elinor Pryor. (New York, The Macmillan company, 1942. 520 pp.) Essentially a woman's story of the great Mormon evacuation, this first novel shows careful historical investigation into the thirties and forties for its Missouri background. The picture of the Mormon leaders is necessarily slanted through the eyes of their followers. Yet here moves the epic of a whole people branded as traitors by the world and driven by greed and persecution through trials of the soul. The massacre at Haun's Mill, the defeat at Far West, and finally the heroic building of Nauvoo and its tragic destruction resurrect an old tale of violence and sudden death that is too often shrugged off by the descendants of their persecutors.

On the Trail to Santa Fe. By Hallie Hall Violette and Ada Claire Darby. Illustrated. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin company, 1941. 266 pp.) From Arrow Rock and Chouteau's Landing wound the Santa Fe Trail to the mountains of the West. From the original story by the late Mrs. Violette compiled from diaries and journals of the traders of the twenties and thirties of the 19th century, Miss Darby has added the fictional account of a small boy who braved the Trail with the historical characters. The style is simple enough to appeal to younger readers.

The Life of Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, C. M., First Bishop of St. Louis, 1789-1843. By the Reverend Frederick J. Easterly. (Washington, Catholic University of America press, 1942. 203 pp.) This biography of Bishop Rosati, offered as a doctoral dissertation, is not primarily a personal account of the man, but the study of an example in the growth of the hierarchy of the church. As the pioneer bishop of the Middle West, at one time his diocese extended from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains.

OBITUARIES

FRANK E. ATWOOD: Born at Carrollton, Mo., Oct. 5, 1878; died at Carrollton, Mo., March 5, 1943. Admitted to the bar in 1904; he was elected mayor of Carrollton in

1914, prosecuting attorney of Carroll county from 1915 to 1919, a member of the 1922 constitutional convention, and assistant chief counsel of the state public service commission in 1923-24. After being elected to the state supreme court in 1924 for a ten-year term, and serving as chief justice from 1931 to 1934, he retired to private law practice although he was mentioned for the federal supreme court in 1932. He was also principal lawyer of Governor Forrest C. Donnell in the gubernatorial controversy in 1941 and the governor's legal observer in the anti-trust suit against the stock fire insurance companies of the State.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN: Born in Omaha, Nebr., in 1889; died in St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 19, 1943. A well-known Catholic historian and author, he was educated at Creighton and St. Louis universities. After serving for four years in a mission at British Honduras, he went abroad for study in Spain, Holland, Munich, and Rome. On his return, he became head of the department of history in St. Louis university in 1932. Besides his published works, he was editor of the *Historical Bulletin* and a contributor to various journals.

HENRY HUSTON CRITTENDEN: Born in Woodford county, Ky., Nov. 28, 1859; died in Kansas City, Mo., Mar. 4, 1943. Son of the governor of Missouri, Thomas T. Crittenden, he graduated from the University of Missouri in 1881. After spending three years in St. Louis as solicitor for the Wabash railroad, he served as deputy clerk of the Kansas City court of appeals until he entered the real estate business in 1887. He was appointed chairman of the Kansas City board of election commissioners and served from 1917 to 1919. He sought the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1926 and 1932, but was defeated both times.

CHARLES B. DAVIS: Born in Hannibal, Mo., Mar. 9, 1877; died in Hot Springs, Ark., Mar. 3, 1943. After graduating from the law school of Missouri university in 1905, he was appointed assistant circuit attorney of St. Louis, serving from 1909 to 1912, and associate city counselor in 1915. He

was elected judge of the circuit court of St. Louis in 1916 and re-elected in 1922. In 1924 he was appointed federal judge of the eighth district and served until his death. He was a trustee of the State Historical Society from 1936 to 1939.

JOHN PHELPS FRUIT: Born at Pembroke, Ky., Nov. 22, 1855; died at Liberty, Mo., Mar. 4, 1943. After receiving his Ph.D. degree from the University of Leipzig, Germany, in 1895, he was professor of literature at Bethel college in Kentucky for ten years before he came in 1898 to William Jewell college to be head of the English department. Known as the "grand old man" of the college, he ranked high in his field of literature and watched many of his students become national figures as lawyers, teachers, writers, and radio personalities. In 1936 the National and Columbia chains dedicated nation-wide radio programs in honor of his eighty-first birthday.

ELMER O. JONES: Born at New Boston, Mo., Oct. 19, 1881; died in Marceline, Mo., April 27, 1943. After graduating from Kirksville State Teachers college in 1906, he attended Wisconsin university in 1908 and 1910, and received a bachelor of arts and bachelor of laws degrees from Missouri university in 1913. He served as superintendent of schools in Kirksville, was admitted to the bar in 1913, and moved to La Plata in 1914 to begin law practice. He served in the state house of representatives in 1919 and 1920 and was nominated state senator in 1920 and attorney-general in 1924 and 1928. He served as a trustee of the State Historical Society from 1920 to 1939.

LINUS AUGUSTINE LILLY: Born at Carrollton, Mo., Sept. 20, 1876; died in St. Louis, Mo., April 16, 1943. After being admitted to the bar in 1898, he joined the Society of Jesus in 1902 and was ordained to the priesthood in 1914. He attended Missouri university, received a bachelor of arts and master of arts degrees from St. Louis university, master of laws degree from Georgetown university law school in

Washington in 1916, and studied canon law at the Gregorian university in Rome from 1920 to 1922. During his graduate study, he was professor of civil and canon law, and regent of the school of law since 1926 of St. Louis university. An authority on canon and constitutional law, his studies in the latter resulted in his testifying in the supreme court controversy in 1937.

CORNELIUS D. McCARTHY: Born in Bere Island, County Cork, Ireland, May 25, 1891; died in Kansas City, Mo., April 28, 1943. As a small boy he came to America and was educated in seminaries in California and Pennsylvania. After his ordination in 1916, he was stationed at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Kansas City as assistant pastor from 1916 to 1921, and rector from 1921 to 1928. He resigned in 1928 and became chaplain of the St. Joseph hospital. He was appointed a papal chamberlain by Pope Pius XI in 1934, and domestic prelate in 1937.

FRANK MITCHELL McDAVID: Born at Hillsboro, Ill., Dec. 11, 1863; died in Springfield, Mo., April 12, 1943. He moved to Springfield in 1889 and was admitted to the bar. Elected to the state senate in 1902 and re-elected in 1906, he served as president pro tem in the 44th general assembly. He campaigned for the establishment of the Southwest State Teachers college and Springfield court of appeals. From his appointment in 1921, he served as a member and as president of the board of curators of Missouri university from 1931 until his death.

JESSE McDONALD: Born in Wabash, Ind., in 1865; died in St. Louis, Mo., March 15, 1943. Lawyer, railroad, and public official, he entered politics after graduating from the law school of Washington university in 1890. He served as assistant circuit attorney, secretary of the city council, mayor, circuit judge, chairman of the 1914 Board of Freeholders which framed the present city charter, president of the board of education, member of the state highway commission and state eleemosynary board, chairman of the St.

Louis NRA Regional Labor Mediations board, city plan commission, and bar committee. He was president of the Frisco railroad since 1937 and was long prominent in Democratic politics in St. Louis.

WILLIAM HARRISON MCINTIRE: Born near Eldorado, Kans., Oct. 23, 1876; died in Vandalia, Mo., March 4, 1943. A well-known editor, he started his career in Caldwell, Kansas. In 1912 he purchased the *Vandalia Mail*, and for the past seven years he was also the postmaster of Vandalia.

JOSEPH B. SHANNON: Born in St. Louis, Mo., March 17, 1867; died in Kansas City, Mo., March 28, 1943. A veteran Democratic leader in Kansas City and Jackson county, he entered law practice in 1905. He was chairman of the Democratic state committee in 1910, delegate to seven of the party's national conventions from 1908 to 1940, and a member of the Missouri constitutional convention of 1922. He was elected a representative in Congress for six terms and served from 1931 to 1943.

JOHN D. TAYLOR: Born at Keytesville, Mo., Dec. 16, 1883; died at Keytesville, Mo., April 11, 1943. After teaching school from 1900 to 1907, he was admitted to the bar and elected state representative in 1908. Re-elected in 1910, he also served in the state senate from 1916 to 1920. He was elected again to the house in 1933 and re-elected in 1934, 1936 and 1938.

EDWIN MAHLON WHITE: Born in Antioch, Calif., May 14, 1876; died in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 13, 1943. A veteran Warsaw editor, he began setting type at the age of ten for the *Benton County Enterprise*. From 1896 to 1899, he worked in the state senate under the secretary of state. In 1899 he became active in the management of the *Benton County Enterprise* and continued until 1938 when he became president of the Benton County Publishing company.

CHARLES M. WILSON: Born at New Florence, Mo., Oct. 1, 1873; died in Fulton, Mo., March 8, 1943. Educated at Central Wesleyan college at Warrenton, he was elected sheriff of Montgomery county for three terms and mayor of Fulton for two. He was elected in 1940 as state representative of Callaway county.

CHARLES EDWIN YANCEY, SR.: Born at Roanoke, Mo., Aug. 16, 1868; died at Liberty, Mo., March 27, 1943. Cattle raiser and prominent in Democratic politics, he served as a member of the livestock branch of the food administration during the first World war. In 1920 he was elected chairman of the Missouri Democratic state committee. After he was appointed in 1936 to fill for one year an unexpired term on the Clay county court, he served as commissioner of the State grain and warehouse department from 1937 to 1939.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

A FISH STORY ABOUT A WATERMELON

From the *Boon's Lick Times*, September 5, 1840.

The Editors in St. Louis talk and make a great flourish about the big watermelons that are raised near that city; and one of them, the Gazette man we believe, was boasting of the one that was sent him, which weighed 38 lbs. Why, gentlemen, your melons are mere nut shells to some that are raised at Hazel Ridge, in this county, on Capt. CLEVELAND's plantation. We were up there the other day and the Captain, or rather two of his stoutest negro men, rolled into his yard a melon that would feed ten as hungry dogs even as you are for a week. The weight of it is not remembered now, but we recollect that fifteen persons were unable to finish it at one meal, and we were among the number.

ENLARGE YOUR VOCABULARY

From the *St. Louis Enquirer*, June 7, 1823.

Provincial Dictionary for the Convenience of Emigrants.

WESTERN DIALECT

<i>Gum</i> , s. A hollow tree.	<i>Hope</i> , v.a. To help; shall I help your plate.
<i>Chance</i> , s. Quantity.	<i>Tote</i> , v.a. To bear by corporeal effort.
<i>Heap</i> , s. Quantity.	<i>Marr</i> , s. A female horse.
<i>Carry</i> , v.a. To lead a quadruped.	<i>Harr</i> , s. That substance which covers the skin of quadrupeds.
<i>Barr</i> , s. A wild animal known by the name of bear.	<i>Let-on</i> , v.a. To acknowledge: 'I never let-on that I know'd him.'
<i>Tharr</i> , ad. There—at or in that place.	<i>Honey love</i> , s. A child.
<i>Wharr</i> , ad. Where—at or in which place.	<i>Bushel</i> , s. A measure by which milk is guaged.
<i>Disremember</i> , v.a. To forget.	<i>Shucks</i> , s. Husks.
<i>Pater</i> , v.a. To amble along.	<i>Plunder</i> , s. Personal property.
<i>Reckon</i> , v.a. To suppose, to affirm.	<i>Saft</i> , a. Soft.
<i>Fanent</i> , Opposite.	<i>Peri</i> , a. Cheerful, full of animal spirits.
<i>Smart</i> , a. Large.	<i>Biscake</i> . Biscuit.
<i>Power</i> , s. Quantity, 'a power of hogs', 'a power of corn.'	<i>Rock</i> , s. A small stone.
<i>Crap</i> , s. A crop of corn.	<i>Cuppen</i> , s. The enclosure within which milch cows are kept.
<i>Stock</i> , s. Horses hogs, and cattle.	
<i>Drap</i> , s. A drop of fluid.	

YANKEE DIALECT

<i>Spry</i> , a. Active.	<i>Clever</i> , a. Good-natured, silly, inoffensive.
<i>Wonderments</i> , s. Curiosities.	<i>Scrape</i> , s. Affray, affair.
<i>Heft</i> , s. Weight.	<i>Our folk</i> , s. A term by which the whole family, including servants, cats and dogs, are alluded to.
<i>Hum</i> , s. Home.	<i>Our house</i> , s. A term by which a free holder modestly acknowledges a partnership between himself, wife and children.
<i>Guess</i> , v.n. To suppose, to suspect.	<i>Likely</i> , s. Handsome, pretty, intelligent.
<i>Notions</i> , s. Small articles.	<i>Raise</i> , v.a. To propagate hogs and cattle.
<i>Natural</i> , a. Natural.	
<i>Hunk</i> , s. Bulk, a large body.	
<i>Gob</i> , s. Bulk, a large body.	
<i>Yark state</i> , s. The state of New York.	
<i>Spatter</i> , A comparative word—"as thick as spatter."	
<i>Squiermed</i> . Twisted, coiled up.	
<i>Rumpus</i> , s. Disturbance, noise, riot.	

APRIL 13, 1943

Proclamation of the Governor of the State of Missouri, April 8, 1943.

On the thirteenth day of April, nineteen hundred forty-three, will occur the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States.

Jefferson was author of the Statute for Religious Liberty in Virginia, was the founder of the University of Virginia and was Chairman of the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence. Nearly all the language of that document was his. He served as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Virginia Conventions, the Virginia State Legislature and the Continental Congress, and was Governor of Virginia. He was Representative in the Congress of the United States, Minister to France, Secretary of State of the United States, Vice-President of the United States and served two terms as President of the United States.

Among the significant accomplishments of the eight years of Jefferson's administrations as President was the purchase from France, in 1803, of the Louisiana Territory, which included the territory which is now Missouri, nine other states and portions of three others.

Jefferson is memorialized in many places in Missouri. Our capital city is named in his honor as is also Jefferson County. Jefferson Memorial in Forest Park, St. Louis, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, in St. Louis, Jefferson Barracks, and numerous townships, streets and schools in Missouri bear his name. Monticello, the county seat of Lewis County, was so named in honor of the estate of Jefferson. At the University of Missouri is to be found the granite obelisk which first marked Jefferson's grave. His likeness is portrayed in objects of art within the State. Thus, in many ways, does Missouri recognize Jefferson's greatness and the influence exerted by him upon our State.

As statesman, lawyer, writer, naturalist, inventor, architect, educator, musician and farmer, Jefferson made to the structure of our national government and the cultural life of our people an important and permanent contribution.

Today, as our Nation is again engaged in a struggle for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for its people and against tyrannical despotism in many parts of the world, increased significance is apparent in the ideals of Jefferson expressed by him when he said "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

NOW, THEREFORE, in order that the attention of the people of Missouri may be especially directed to the life of Thomas Jefferson and to the fundamental ideals which his life exemplified, and in compliance with the provisions of Section 15314 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri of 1939, I, the undersigned, do hereby issue this proclamation and do by it set apart April thirteenth, 1943, as "JEFFERSON DAY" and do recommend that it be observed by the people with appropriate exercises in the public schools and otherwise to the end that the memory of the public service and the humanitarian principles of Thomas Jefferson may be perpetuated.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto subscribe my name and cause the great seal of the State of Missouri to be affixed at the City of Jefferson, State of Missouri, this eighth day of April, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Three.

FORREST C. DONNELL,
Governor.

"CAVE" WILSON

Contributed by Burton Alva Konkle.

"You see that spot of stone-work up on the face of the cliff beside the small cave opening," said Lawyer Brown as we stood on the banks of the Osage river at Tuscmobia, Missouri.

"That stone-work," he continued, "has been there a hundred years nearly, and, believe it or not, it covers a remarkable tale. Whether it is there because of a man's reading of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, a longing for some kind of immortality, a community's superstition or a man's popularity with his generation—who can tell?

"A man named Wilson in the east after the Revolution got in his little row-boat somewhere on the upper Ohio river branches and started out to find adventure and a home in the wilds of what is now Missouri. Down the Ohio, he went, up the Mississippi, up the Missouri and up the Osage gorge until he reached these lowlands. The Osage Indians were here so he camped out in that open cave you see beside the spot of stone-

work, as he had found a secret opening to it back in the woods that he could control for safety. He at once took measures to take up some bottom lands; and by the firelight in his cave he read Tom Paine, whom he greatly admired, and it made an atheist out of him.

"Then came on the War of 1812-15 with Great Britain, and Wilson heard of General Jackson's preparation of an army on the lower Mississippi to head off a naval and army attack at New Orleans. He at once got out his oars and his row-boat and started down the Osage, Missouri and Mississippi and joined Jackson and was one of the fighters at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815—a battle fought after the war had closed but the two armies didn't know it!

"Again Wilson picked up his oars and began his long siege of pulling up-stream on the Mississippi, which gave him a good deal of time for thinking. He concluded, before he got to the mouth of the Ohio, where the earthquake of 1811 had ripped up the shore-line and islands, that he might as well go up the Ohio and get his sweetheart, get married and settle down, as so many were beginning to do. He found her, was successful and, with a boat-load now, he retraced his old course down the Ohio, up the Mississippi, Missouri and Osage rivers and, finding their way through the secret entrance to the open cave, high in the face of the cliff, they were soon settled in their cave home; but settlement was so rapid that they soon had a home built and were farming in the bottom-lands.

"In the evenings, he would read Paine's *Age of Reason* as though it were his Bible, as it really was; but he was a man of vision and action, as you have already seen; and he was troubled about life ending with death—as though there was nothing, no immortality of any kind. So as he drank his apple-jack, the popular drink of that day, he began to speculate as to what his death, and after, should be. And he finally worked out a program as to what it should be and made it known to his wife and some men friends, who would carry it out.

"Some years later, when he died, the details became known, and were carried out. First, his heart was removed, and his wife and her friends buried it, as though it were he, in the burial lot. Then the day was turned into a gala barbecue and picnic with plenty of his old apple-jack for all participants. Late in the afternoon, his body, filled with salt, was taken, with a big demi-john of apple-jack, across the river to the foot of the cliff, and drawn up to the small cave beside the open one that had been his home; and both placed in it, and the opening closed by a stone mason.

"Then, it was announced that "Cave" Wilson wished that on the anniversary of this event each year the people would hold a similar barbecue and picnic; and at the close should have a committee go up to the cave,

open it, see what was his state, take out the demi-john of apple-jack and have a good time, then fill it up again, put it back, and have a stone mason seal up the cave as before. To this they all agreed.

"A year went by, and people began to look forward to a jolly day such as "Cave" Wilson, as he came to be called, wished. And when the day arrived, they were not disappointed, though there was some restless speculation as to how it would end. Then, in the afternoon, those assigned to open the tomb started up the cliff, and reached the stone-work. Then to the astonishment of all, no one could be persuaded to open it! Why? Was it the old time reverence for the dead? Was it superstition? Was it fear? Was it disagreement with "Cave" Wilson's conclusions or lack of them regarding the ideas in Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*? Or was it their conclusion that "Cave" merely wanted no one to mourn over his death, but celebrate it with a good time?"

"It seems," Lawyer Brown concluded, "to be this last, for every year on that anniversary the people have celebrated the event as a holiday—drawing the line at opening the cave, even with the prospect of wonderfully ripened apple-jack!"

NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET

From the *Macon Argus*, April 29, 1868.

We make the following extracts from an able letter written by Martin W. Willis, of St. Louis, to the *Buffalo Commercial*, under date of April 10th.

QUEER CUSTOMS

Every city has its peculiarities, which afford insight into the characteristics of the people. The cries in the streets, of venders of fruits and vegetables, are as queer as they are unintelligible to a stranger. Instead of carrying the milk to the door, or into the kitchen, as in the East, the milkmen of St. Louis drive through the streets and ring a huge dinner bell before your door. Customers have to go out to their vehicles, where they sit and dispense the diluted fluid. The driver would feel insulted if you asked him to bring it in himself. Everything you purchase of these men you have to carry from their wagon to your house, from a dozen of oranges to a bushel of potatoes. The ice man drives up, throws out the ice upon the sidewalk, shouting "ice" in a stentorian voice, and is off.

Another peculiarity of St. Louis is the apparent disinclination to force trade. If one goes into a Chicago store, he will be taken in hand at once by a member of the firm, and he will have to buy something. If the merchant cannot sell for 25 per cent. profit, he will reduce it to 5 per cent.; but sell he will, and buy you must. Not so here. I have actually known some of our merchants to urge customers not to take too large a stock; and prices are rarely changed to suit a customer. Among our merchants there is a great deal of fairness and honor, which reminds us of the old Boston merchants of a former generation.

JEANS AND COONSKIN

Reprinted from the *St. Joseph Gazette* in *The Peoples Tribune*, September 9, 1874.

In a volume entitled "Territorial Law of Missouri, 1824, to 1826," in the law library of this city, we find on page 152, chapter 101, the following remarkable enactment which has, we believe, never been repealed, although it is marked "obsolete":

Whereas, The example of men high in office, has great influence over the habits and customs of the community; therefore be it.

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Missouri [as follows:] The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, State Treasurer, Judges of the different courts, the Attorney-General, and members of the General Assembly, be requested to dress in clothing, the growth and manufacture of this State.

January 12, 1829.

Those were the halcyon days of homespun and jeans. Imagine Gov. Woodson arrayed in yarn socks, cowhide boots, linsey shirt, brindle jeans pants, with blue coat and waist-coat of the same material, the whole surmounted by a coonskin or legal tender cap, reading his annual message to a General Assembly similarly costumed.

APRIL FOOL!

Reprinted from the *St. Joseph Union* in the *Macon Argus*, April 22, 1868.

ALMOST AN ACCIDENT ON THE HANNIBAL & ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD.—As the Wednesday afternoon train on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad was leaving Hannibal for this city, the short, sharp and repeated engine whistles indicated danger ahead. Some person or some cow was on the track, sure. Still the whistle sounded, when, Oh, horror of horrors, a baby was discovered sitting directly in front of the engine between the rails. The passengers, looking from the car windows, were struck with consternation. The brakemen anxiously stretched out their bodies, hanging by the platform railing, to witness the impending catastrophe. Still the whistle sounded, and still the child sat, when at once one of "nature's noblemen," a spectator who had seen the train coming, gallantly stepped to the track and struck the babe a blow that sent it outside of the track. It was a narrow escape for the child, but not for the engineer of the locomotive, for the latter met the accident full in the face—April 1st. The "child" was "made up" for the occasion—rags, all rags, "nothing more." Did any body ever hear a locomotive engineer swear?

"LOAFTER'S HALL"

From the *Hannibal Tri-Weekly Messenger*, May 6, 1858.

We are happy to learn that a project is on foot for the erection of a magnificent edifice in this city, for the express benefit of the numerous class of gentry who have "nothing to do," and who may at all hours be found thronging our street corners, with their "hands in their pockets and

their mouths agape, staring on vacancy." The design is an excellent one, as are also the plats and plans. The building is to be built of first quality "whisky barrels and sugar-hogsheads," with the bungs of each knocked out, and a tin tube attached, from which may be drawn whisky and sugar "ready mixed." There will be a "collection taken up," every day at 10 o'clock, on the different corners of the principal streets of our city, to defray the expenses of the building.

We hope that this important work will be pushed to a speedy completion, as the street corners are frequently so completely blockaded, that pedestrians, both ladies and gentlemen, are compelled to take the street, in walking to and fro in the prosecution of their business or duties. A word to the wise, &c.

FOOTBALL

From the correspondence of Mr. W. H. H. Piatt.

Mr. Napoleon B. Crisp
4019 East 69th Street
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Crisp:

. . . I promised to give you the story of an unpublished incident of the colorful career of your father, the late Colonel John T. Crisp, soldier and statesman, splendid American, typical Southern gentleman of cherished memory to his friends, and perennial champion of American youth.

Agitation on the street and in the public press to prohibit football playing in Missouri, also Sunday baseball, quickly took form and was ripe following the Jay Hawk drubbing of the Missouri Tiger, 30 to 0, Thanksgiving, 1896. The movement to prohibit Sunday baseball by law was well under way. One of the Kansas City papers, the Times, if I remember aright, announced that Colonel Crisp, the Jackson County member elect to the 1897 Missouri Legislature, would introduce a bill at the next session to prohibit playing of football in the State.

In the early part of December, 1896, I called to see the Colonel at his office in the old Swope Building, Southeast corner of 11th and Grand Avenue, and as I was leaving he very graciously said,

"Mr. Piatt, if you have any bills you wish to put through the legislature, I will be glad to attend to them for you." While thanking him and telling him I was too recent from Kansas to propose laws for Missouri, I recalled a news item that the Colonel was going to introduce a bill to prohibit football, and I said,

"I see by the papers you are going to introduce a bill to prohibit football." The Colonel replied, "I have not said that I would, but I think the . . . game should be suppressed," and in rapid fire he asked if I had ever seen a game, if I knew any one that had, if I had ever played, or knew any one that had? Answering, "Yes, I had seen a few games and had played in forty or fifty," the Colonel with manifest interest, and almost impetuosity, asked me to please come back to his desk, and

again in rapid fire asked me if I had any unbroken bones, unruptured muscles and ligaments, uninjured teeth, eyes and ears? Upon answering that I had suffered no broken bones, ruptured muscles, torn ligaments, lost teeth, eye or ear injury, the Colonel arose from his chair and like an expert and careful horse buyer, he proceeded to minutely feel the muscles of my legs, arms and back, looked at my teeth and eyes, punched me in the belly and loins, resumed his seat and asked when I had last played. Being told I had played the Fall season just closing through as Captain of the University Medical College team, Kansas City, beating Kansas 8 to 0, Missouri and several other teams, he asked, "Of what use is the game? What benefit?"

I replied, "There is no game, exercise and training that so quickly and fully develops team work and gives the boy moral and physical courage, self reliance and decision. He soon learns that black eyes, bruises and bloody noses are temporary casualties that quickly recover." I enumerated the four instances of collar bone fractures and one of nose in Kansas games in five years. "Well," the Colonel said with emphasis, "I am for every game that builds moral and physical courage in the boy. That's what he must have. Write me a statement of the number of games and injuries. I am going to be against any bill to prohibit the game." Shortly following the convening of the legislature, he telegraphed me to send him the promised data on football, pronto, and I did.

A preacher member from the Ozarks, against Sunday baseball, introduced a bill to prohibit football. Jimmie Manning, President of the Kansas City Baseball Club, was in the Chamber of the legislature watching the baseball bill when the football bill came up. The Ozark member being given the floor, Colonel Crisp left his seat with the Jackson County delegation, went to the rear center of the Chamber and as the member from the Ozarks closed his argument, the Colonel asked if he would yield a question, to which the member replied, "As many as you like."

Whereupon the Colonel, from his position at the rear end of the center aisle, opened a rapid fire of questions to the reverend member from the Ozarks, "had he ever played the game, had he ever seen a game, if he knew anyone that had played one?"

The answer being the negative and the author of the bill having closed his argument and resumed his seat, the Colonel swept down the aisle to the speaker's stand, took the floor and faced the Chamber and in his richest and most fervent orotund and inimitable epigram and ridicule proceeded to answer the gentleman of the cloth from the Ozarks, author of the bill, by saying that he, the Colonel, had a friend, a young man at Kansas City, with clear eyes and good health, with no broken bones, ruptured muscles, lost teeth or defective hearing, that had played fifty games of football; that he was sound as a dollar and had shown him, the Colonel, that the game surpassed all other games in America for the development of moral and physical courage, the all for one and one for all

spirit of the Three Musketeers, in the youth of the country, and when the Colonel concluded the Chamber was uproarious with laughter, the football bill was killed and the Sunday baseball bill was doomed.

Later I was told that the Colonel's oratory, eloquence and satire on this occasion surpassed his Higginsville speech in the Cleveland campaign when he answered the Maria Halpin canard with the declaration, "We didn't enter Grover Cleveland in this race as a gelding."

The Colonel became so much a champion of the game that on the morning of the '97 game he came into the Lobby of the Midland Hotel, Missouri headquarters, began milling with the rooters and seeing me with a bunch of Kansans and Tiger rooters, greeted me most cordially and being introduced to Sheff Ingalls, Clyde Miller and Russel Whitman, of Kansas, Sam Sparrow, Lawson Price and Charley Young, of Missouri, after complimenting Sheff Ingalls on his brilliant father, told those boys he had expected to introduce a bill to prohibit football but on getting first hand information about the game from this young man, "I opposed and beat the bill introduced by a minister from the Ozarks."

May I add that I hold my acquaintance and contact with your father a most pleasant and worthwhile experience.

Yours sincerely,
W. H. H. Piatt.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

- American German Review*, February: "Francis J. Grund and Carl Schurz—A Contrast," by Albert B. Faust; "St. Louis Germans, Anno 1851," by Roy Temple House; "On American Greatness," by Carl Schurz.
- Annals of Iowa*, January, Part I: "George Washington Carver, Mystic Scientist," by Charles D. Reed.
- Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, March: "Ozark or Masserne," by Robert L. Morris.
- Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, January: "The Institute Commemorates its Fifteenth Anniversary," by John Bajus; "1882-1942," by Doctor Theodore Buenger.
- Demourier*, February: "Thomas Benton Answers Questions," by Thomas Hart Benton; "Tom," by John Steuart Curry; "Thomas Benton," by Reginald Marsh.
- Geographical Review*, April: "Conservation in German Settlements of the Missouri Ozarks," by Arthur B. Cozzens.
- Glimpses of the Past*, October-December: "Sensational Balloon Voyage and Other St. Louis Reminiscences 1857-1862," edited by Stella M. Drumm and Isaac H. Lionberger.
- Historical Bulletin*, March: "Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Historian," by Thomas F. O'Connor; "Raymond Corrigan, S. J., 1889-1943."
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March: "Missouri Becomes a Doubtful State," by Homer Clevenger.

Missouri Bar Journal, January: "A Modern Corporate Business Code for Missouri," by Carson E. Cowherd; February: "The University of Missouri Law School and Seventy Years of Legal Education," by Glenn A. McCleary.

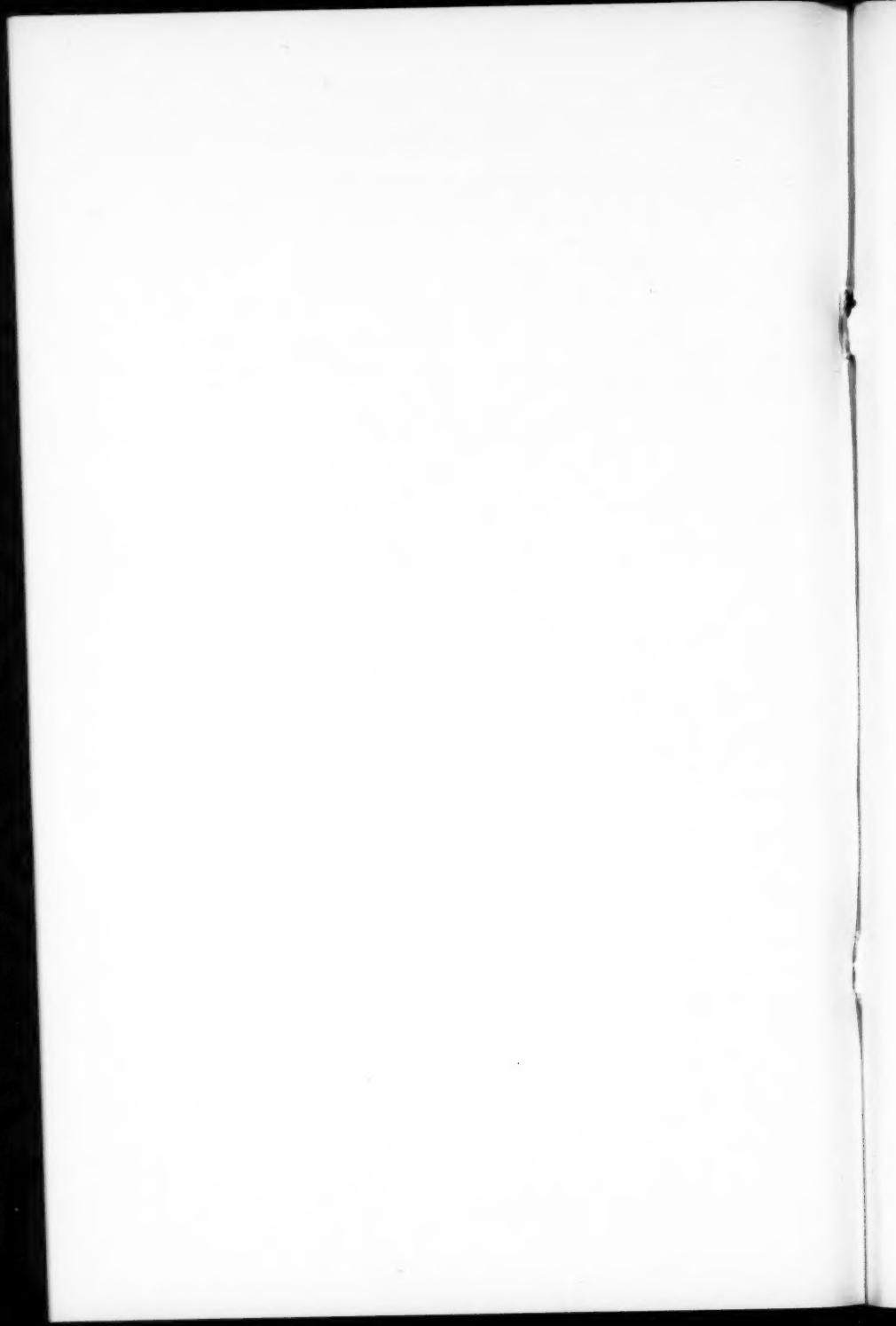
National Municipal Review, December: "Missouri Wins Constitutional Revision," by S. L. Morton.

National Geographic Magazine, May: "Land of A Million Smiles," by Frederick Simpich.

New Republic, February 1: "As Goes Missouri?" by Irving Dilliard.

Washington University Alumni Bulletin, March: "University Marks Ninetieth Anniversary."

Wisconsin Magazine of History, March: "With the First Wisconsin Cavalry, 1862-1865 (I), The Letters of Peter J. Williamson," edited by Henry Lee Swint.



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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor



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